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# ***Daily Report***

## **Sub-Saharan Africa**

FBIS-AFR-89-151  
Tuesday  
8 August 1989

# Daily Report

## Sub-Saharan Africa

FBIS-AFR-89-151

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8 August 1989

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## Zaire

### Angolan, UNITA Delegations Arrive for Talks

AB0808091589 Paris AFP in English 0454 GMT  
8 Aug 89

[Text] Kinshasa, Aug 8 (AFP)—Angolan Government officials and representatives of the rebel UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] movement arrived here Monday to resume peace talks broken off last month, Angolan sources said.

The negotiating session—the third since June 24, when the Angolan Government signed a peace agreement with the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola in the Zairian town of Gbadolite—will begin soon, the sources said.

A first round of talks was held here in late June. A second, in mid-July, was broken off after UNITA expressed reservations about certain proposals made by Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko, who has been acting as a mediator.

The head of the UNITA delegation, Jorge Valentin, accused the ruling Angolan People's Liberation Movement (MPLA) after he arrived here Monday of seeking to "sabotage" the ceasefire provided for in the June 24 agreement.

But a member of the UNITA delegation said: "We have come to Kinshasa to talk clearly to the MPLA about the terms of the Gbadolite agreement... We know the process will be long, but we are optimistic."

The MPLA delegation which arrived here Monday is headed by Angolan Deputy Defence Minister Antonio dos Franca "Ndalu."

### Talks' Background Noted

AB0708215889 Libreville Africa No 1 in French  
1830 GMT 7 Aug 89

[Text] In Angola, there are some difficulties in achieving peace. The negotiations between the government and the armed opposition group, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, was scheduled to resume in Kinshasa today. This meeting finally took place despite problems about which we do not possess details.

The situation between the two sides has been very tense for the past few days. The Angolan Government yesterday denounced UNITA's general military offensive, and an offensive aimed at taking political power by force, according to a communique issued by the Angolan Ministry of Defense. The same communique states that this is the dream of UNITA, and that the pursuit of this (?dream) cannot be achieved because this will lead to unnecessary bloodshed. If UNITA insists on choosing the military path, the communique continues, the Angolan Armed Forces will reply with the appropriate answer. The Angolan Government's communique informs the international community that since 24 July 1989, the UNITA attacks have left 286 dead, 241 wounded, and 71 missing. The communique emphasizes, and I quote: the irresponsible and adventurist attitude of the UNITA leader who, thirsty for power, does not care what means are used to achieve his objectives, unquote.

### Sudanese Delegation Delivers Al-Bashir Message

AB0708173189 Kinshasa AZAP in French 1510 GMT  
7 Aug 89

[Text] Kinshasa, 7 Aug (AZAP) —A 10-member Sudanese delegation led by Brigadier Dominic Kassiano, member of the National Salvation Revolutionary Command Council, arrived in Kinshasa today with a message from General 'Umar Hasan Ahmad al-Bashir, the Sudanese head of state, to Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko.

In a statement to AZAP, Gen Kassiano said the purpose of the mission is to explain to the leader of Zaire the reasons General al-Bashir took power on 30 June, the changes in the administration, and the situation in Sudan since the advent of the new government. The Sudanese delegation, he added, will discuss with Zairian officials the issues involving cooperation between the two countries, especially in connection with their common border, in order to find ways to further strengthen bilateral cooperation.

Speaking about the situation in Sudan since the advent of the new regime, Gen Kassiano pointed out that the situation has been very calm since the new regime took power. The new authorities, he continued, have already decreed a general cease-fire and have declared a general amnesty for all citizens of the country living abroad.

The Sudanese delegation was welcomed upon its arrival at Ndjili airport by Mr Yayidika Ngimbi, deputy first state commissioner and commissioner of state for citizens rights and liberties.

### Ethiopia

**Talks With Eritrean 'Rebels' Possible in U.S.**  
*AB0708154989 Abidjan FRATERNITE MATIN  
in French 7 Aug 89 p 24*

[Text] The Ethiopian Government's efforts to end the civil war in Eritrea Province will soon lead to a new peace initiative. This was stated yesterday by the U.S. assistant secretary of state for African affairs, Mr Herman Cohen. He said the announcement of a date for the next peace initiative must come from the Ethiopian Government. Informed sources say that peace talks between the government and the rebel movements could take place next September in Georgia, the home state of former U.S. President Jimmy Carter, who has offered his good offices to the two parties.

[Ethiopian President] Mengistu in June asked the Eritrean rebels, who have been fighting the Ethiopian Government since 1962, to participate in negotiations aimed at ending the longest civil war Africa has ever known. The Eritrean People's Liberation Front, the principal rebel movement, has not yet accepted.

### Kenya

**Zimbabwe's Mugabe Arrives for Mozambican Talks**  
*EA0708122089 Nairobi Domestic Service in English  
1000 GMT 7 Aug 89*

[Excerpts] H.E. [His Excellency] President Daniel arap Moi today received the Zimbabwean president, Mr Robert Mugabe, who arrived in Kenya this morning for a 1-day official visit. The plane carrying the Zimbabwean leader touched down at the Jomo Kenyatta International Airport shortly after 10:30 am.

President Mugabe and President Moi are the key negotiators in the Mozambique peace negotiations aimed at ending the 13-year internal war in Mozambique.

On arrival at the airport, President Mugabe inspected the guard of honor mounted by the Kenya Army, and later proceeded to State House, Nairobi, where the official talks are taking place this afternoon. [passage omitted]

Accompanying President Mugabe are the Zimbabwean minister for justice, legal, and parliamentary affairs, Mr Emmerson Munangagwa; the acting minister of defense, Mr Sydney Sekemayi; and senior Zimbabwe Armed Forces officers.

President Mugabe will leave for home later this afternoon after the talks.

### Meets With Moi, Departs

*EA0708182689 Nairobi Domestic Service in English  
1300 GMT 7 Aug 89*

[Excerpt] His Excellency President Daniel arap Moi today at State House, Nairobi, held discussions with Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe. The talks aimed at finding a solution to the 13-year civil war in Mozambique. After the talks, President Mugabe left for home shortly before 1600 (local) and was seen off at Jomo Kenyatta International Airport by his host, President Daniel arap Moi. [passage omitted]

### 'Official' Communique Issued

*EA0708191789 Nairobi Domestic Service in English  
1600 GMT 7 Aug 89*

[Excerpt] His Excellency President Daniel arap Moi, today at State House, Nairobi, held talks with President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe. According to an official communique issued at the talks, President Moi and President Mugabe were consulting today at the request of President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique to find ways of coordinating the peace process for his country.

During the consultations, the two presidents reviewed and endorsed the guidelines for the meeting tomorrow between the representatives of the MNR [Mozambique National Resistance] and a church delegation under the auspices of the Kenyan Government. The discussions between the two groups will be based on the 12-points presented by the Government of Mozambique in its attempt to end the 13-year-old civil war.

President Moi and President Mugabe said they were greatly encouraged by the spirit and willingness of the two sides to undertake serious discussions to find a peaceful solution to the Mozambican problem. The two leaders called on all those involved and all those interested in assisting the peace process to lend their support to the peace initiative. [passage omitted]

**Mozambican Rebel Leaders, Church Leaders To Meet**  
*MB0708150089 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese  
1400 GMT 7 Aug*

[text] Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe arrived in Nairobi today for talks with his Kenyan counterpart, Daniel arap Moi, on peace efforts in Mozambique.

A meeting between Mozambican religious officials and the armed bandit ringleaders is expected to take place in Nairobi today, within the framework of the current peace initiatives in Mozambique. Kenyan Foreign Minister Robert Ouko said the meeting is expected to be chaired by President Daniel arap Moi.

**F.W. de Klerk Addresses Cape Meeting**  
*MB0408063589 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
2152 GMT 3 Aug 89*

[Text] Parow, Cape, Aug SAPA [dateline as received]—The National Party foresaw a new democratic dispensation for South Africa with full political rights for all its citizens, the Minister of National Education and leader of the NP [National Party], Mr F.W. de Klerk, said tonight.

On the other hand, the policies of the Democratic Party [DP] and the Conservative Party [CP] would lead to a power struggle and result in power domination and majority domination.

He spoke at the only public meeting he is to address in the Cape during the current election campaign.

His speech, often interrupted by interjections coming from both CP and DP supporters, ultimately drew a standing ovation from the 900 strong audience which filled the civic centre.

Mr de Klerk said they key question that had to be answered in this election was what had to be done to avoid a power struggle resulting from the country's racial problems which threatened security and prosperity.

"To put it positively: How can we by retaining our values and all that is precious to us establish a just dispensation for whites as well as all the population groups?

"The threat is a destructive power struggle. The answer is a just dispensation for everybody," he said.

**Discusses White Security, Domination**  
*MB0408083589 Johannesburg Domestic Service  
in English 0500 GMT 4 Aug 89*

[Text] The leader of the National Party, Mr F.W. de Klerk, says white security can never be built on injustice towards others.

Speaking at Parow, in the Cape Peninsula, Mr de Klerk said the essence of the solution to South Africa's problems lay in achieving justice for all. He said that the realities of South Africa's problems would have to be taken into account and that the present state of affairs could not continue indefinitely. The situation would have to change drastically and quickly.

Mr de Klerk said white domination, as was advocated by the Conservative Party, led inevitably to catastrophe and that future generations would pay the price.

In contrast, white security could not be attained in a liberal, nonracial utopia, as was projected by the Democratic Party.

The white's future could be secured only if a basis of cooperation could be found between all the people and groups in South Africa. Mr de Klerk said white security was irredeemably tied to the creation of full opportunities for participation and progress for all the other population groups but not at the expense of the whites.

**Pik Botha Interviewed on Soviet Relations**  
*MB0808073889 Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English  
6 Aug 89 p 11*

[Interview with Foreign Minister Pik Botha by Charles Mogale; date, place not given]

[Text] Mogale: With the reported changes of perestroyka and glasnost in the Soviet Union, are we to see better relations between South Africa and the Soviets?

Botha: There is a huge vacuum caused by lack of contact since the 1950's. It is difficult to know if one should make an attempt to talk.

There will be a natural hesitancy on the part of the South African Government and the Soviets to break through this lack of contact.

I think Gorbachev is interested in moving his country ahead economically. He doesn't see any gain for the Soviet Union to continue its past involvements in regional conflicts.

It must be clear that Africans are now intent on resolving their own problems.

I believe the Soviets will accept that it is not in their interests to project themselves as a power that goes against the interests of the Africans.

Mogale: On interference in regional conflict, shouldn't the same apply to the United States given their assistance to UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] rebels in Angola?

Botha: As you know, we have stopped our assistance to UNITA. The U.S. is a global power, and they reason that the war in Angola has reached an impasse, without a winner. Should they stop their assistance to UNITA, it may affect the balance again.

The Angolan Government sees this as illegal intervention in their internal affairs.

Mogale: Why is there this anti-Marxist sentiment propagated by Western governments including South Africa? Why is the ideology not given a fair chance to compete in the open political market?

Botha: I think in general the Europeans believe that communism as an ideology has totally failed. Ironically they see changes in Gorbachev's policies—perestroyka, glasnost, demokratisia—as admission of that failure.

Since the Second World War, America, as a global power, has always tried to maintain a balance of power with the Soviet Union.

An American representative said to me, referring to the Soviets: "If we can't beat them bastards in conventional arms, we will outspend them."

Mogale: How do South Africans see the Soviet Union?

Botha: Many black South Africans see the Soviet Union as a power which has sympathy with their cause, coming out clearly against apartheid.

But now that we are removing apartheid, many blacks see problems occurring inside the Soviet Union. (They see) that Namibia is moving towards independence and that there might even be peace in Angola and Mozambique. They are asking themselves: what kind of South Africa do we want?

They are saying: "Pik, we do not want apartheid. You will never get us to accept it. But we also are not going to fall for the situation that prevails in the rest of Africa."

I think Soviet influence as the saviour of black South Africa is receding.

I stood up in the United Nations in 1974 and said I could not defend discrimination based on the colour of a person's skin. I paid the price, but I stuck to it. So I can say with equal force to blacks and whites that they've got to change.

Mogale: There have been unabated reports—which you denied—alleging that South Africa has been aiding the MNR [Mozambique National Resistance] in Mozambique. Are you going to do anything to dispel the reports?

Botha: If I can get hold of any firm evidence that such acts have been perpetrated, I will act.

While RENAMO [Mozambique National Resistance] is waging this war, it is chasing away investment. It precludes me from building bridges, from playing our role as a leading regional power.

Look at the Cahora Bassa Dam which could be a joint project between the Mozambicans and South Africa.

My dream of a southern Africa is being messed up by organisations like the MNR.

Mogale: You did not believe the government of Botswana when they said they knew of no ANC [African National Congress] bases in their country. Foreign Minister Dr Gaositwe Chiepe is actually on record as inviting you to come and identify the bases.

Their argument was: if you can't make the borders safe for yourselves, they are hardly in a position to make them so for you. What is your comment?

Botha: What I suggested to Dr Chiepe was that, precisely for that reason, there should be co-operation. Quietly. There should be mutual trust.

If terrorists move through a neighbouring state and they are detained, and they indicate how they moved, and you submit that information to that government, they take steps. We don't announce it. Otherwise you embarrass them.

I don't accuse the government of Botswana—maybe they are totally unaware of this—but we have had instances where the same person would come to Gaborone or Francistown or elsewhere, and our security people would tell the authorities that Mr X is there.

They would put him on a plane to Lusaka. A week later he is back. Those are the cases they must control.

I am not in favour of cross-border operations. It gives us a bad name. We pay a price for it.

Mogale: When South African security forces raided Botswana on June 12, 1985, you were scheduled to meet with the country's officials about two weeks from the date of the raid. That raised speculation that the South African forces operate independently of Cabinet decisions. What is your comment?

Botha: The Cabinet does not approve all the operations of the security forces. There are certain guidelines which leave certain latitudes in decision-making on the ground.

Mogale: Are we likely to have more cross-border raids?

Botha: I hope Botswana and ourselves can resolve the issue of mutual trust on the question of co-operation.

Our difficulty is how do we translate into a practical day-to-day situation.

Mogale: Back home, there is a feeling that the government is soft on rightwing violence.

There has never been a known case of detention without trial of a person on the right of the National Party. What is your comment?

Botha: In some cases where extreme rightwing persons were involved in activities, you find that their actions were such that they could be handled in terms of the normal legal procedure.

They have been arrested, put before court and sentenced.

Mogale: Our newspaper advocates freedom of expression—and finds nothing wrong with people expressing extreme rightwing sentiments. But if leftwing people who do likewise are detained without trial, surely the same should happen to the rightwing.

Botha: My colleagues are required by law to go through statements or activities and many of the rightwing statements fall short of that discretion which the regulations give to the Minister to take action.

But on the leftwing, they tend to go over the brim. Then there is sufficient reason to react.

Mogale: The Government has refused to talk to the ANC until it renounces violence. But the ANC on the other hand feels that police brutality, detention without trial and forced removals are tantamount to State violence. They say there should be no conditions. What is your comment?

Botha: In general I agree. There should be no conditions.

The problem is the interpretation of conditions.

Our concept of an open agenda differs from that of the ANC. The ANC sees it as a condition.

We don't see ourselves at war with any party in this country.

The season of violence is over. This country must govern together. White domination must end.

Mogale: National Party leader F.W. de Klerk emphasises "group rights" which divide blacks in terms of tribes, while not doing the same to whites. You have said the government is moving away from domination of one "group" by the other. Do you rule out the possibility of a black State President?

Botha: You know that I was repudiated on this matter. I submitted to disciplinary action and I admitted at that time that it was not National Party policy.

But it remains my democratic right to continue to propagate my particular view. That is the best answer I can give.

**Pik Botha Protests Transkei's Abduction of Mtirara**  
*MB0208112189 Umtata Capital Radio in English*  
*0700 GMT 2 Aug 89*

[Text] South Africa has protested to Transkei about the abduction of General Zondwa Mtirara from South African soil.

Former paramount chief of the Thembu's Gen Zondwa Mtirara is currently in police custody in Transkei. Mtirara is also a former head of the army, who apparently (?left) Transkei after losing the paramountcy in May.

Now, South Africa has accused Transkei of abducting him. Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha says that official Transkeian institutions, possibly without government knowledge, abducted Mtirara. Botha's protest follows claims that violent attacks have been launched on Transkei from South Africa, after six men tried to assassinate military ruler Maj Gen Bantu Holomisa.

**Government Comments on Frelimo Congress**  
*MB3107152089 Johannesburg Domestic Service*  
*in English 1400 GMT 31 Jul 89*

[Text] The Department of Foreign Affairs says the decision of the ruling Frelimo [Mozambican Liberation Front] party in Mozambique to move away from the strict principles of Marxist-Leninism will benefit the Mozambican people.

In a statement released in Pretoria, the Department said the shift would also have wide implications for the southern African region as a whole. It said it hoped that the new approach would further facilitate peace negotiations between the Mozambican Government and Renamo.

Earlier it was earlier reported that, after a week of debate at the fifth congress of the Frelimo Party in Maputo, the party had decided to adopt a new program in which the official ideology of Marxist-Leninism was dropped in favor of a more moderate general commitment to socialism. Support was declared for a mixed economy and moves were backed to end the civil war in the country. In addition, Marxist hardliners were expelled from the Politbureau.

Observers said the new program marked the turning point in the ideological direction of Frelimo, which has been in power since independence from Portugal in 1975.

**Church Leaders Support 'Defiance Campaign'**  
*MB0408173189 Johannesburg SAPA in English*  
*1720 GMT 4 Aug 89*

[Text] Johannesburg Aug 4 SAPA—Church leaders announced their support of the mass democratic movement's nationwide defiance campaign at a press conference here today.

The leaders were represented by the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, the Rev Frank Chikane; the Archbishop of Cape Town, Desmond Tutu; the Rev Alan Boesak and the Rev Paul Makhubu.

They said: "We, as church leaders, support the current non-violent defiance campaign and intend to become involved in it.

"This is in keeping with our commitment to the specific decisions made at the convocation of churches in May last year, which initiated the 'standing for the truth campaign'.

"To us it is clear that the defiance campaign expresses the will of the majority of our population whilst the elections will reflect the concerns of a very small proportion of South Africans."

#### Mandela Backs Campaign

MB0408124789 Umtata Capital Radio in English  
1200 GMT 4 Aug 89

[Text] Jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela has backed the nationwide defiance campaign against segregated facilities. His biographer, Fatima Meer, says Mandela is all for that kind of defiance. Meer met Mandela yesterday and said the jailed leader is very impressed by the discipline and organization of the campaign.

Mandela helped organize and took part in a similar campaign in 1952. Meer says Mandela does not expect the mass democratic movement to use violence, but she says that he has not made a specific call for non-violence. She says the violence from the opponents of apartheid has always been in response to the state's violence.

#### DP To 'Continue Talking' to Mass Movement

MB0108155689 Johannesburg Domestic Service  
in English 1500 GMT 1 Aug 89

[Text] The Democratic Party [DP] says it will maintain contact with the MDM [Mass Democratic Movement] despite yesterday's incident at the University of the Witwatersrand. Between 70 and 100 chanting students prevented the parliamentary leader of the DP, Dr Zach de Beer; the chairman of IDASA [Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa], Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert; and a journalist, Mr Stephen Friedman, from addressing a campus meeting.

Dr de Beer told our political news staff that while his party sympathized with the sentiments of the students, it could not condone their actions. He did not foresee any further disruption of public meeting in the run-up to the September election. Dr de Beer said the DP would continue talking to the MDM, since the two organizations agreed on many matters, including the inadequacy of the parliamentary system.

Earlier, the Vice Chancellor of the Witwatersrand University, Prof Robert Charlton, confirmed that disciplinary procedures had been instituted against the students involved in the disruptive action.

#### Minister Vlok Sends COSATU Letter of Apology

MB0508071789 Umtata Capital Radio in English  
0600 GMT 5 Aug 89

[Text] Adriaan Vlok has apologized to COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions]. In a letter to lawyers of the Union Federation, South Africa's minister of law and order has formally undertaken not to say that a COSATU document distributed at its congress advocates or supports any acts of violence.

Vlok's letter concedes the COSATU document does not refer to petrol bombs, despite his statements to an election meeting that it did. At the meeting, Vlok said the document called for bomb attacks on candidates in the election. Vlok's letter has come in the face of threatened legal action by COSATU, which said it would go to the Supreme Court for an interdict to prevent Vlok from repeating some of the statements he made at the election meeting.

At the meeting Vlok said the document circulated at the COSATU congress called for protest action against parks and buses as well as hospitals to disrupt medical services. He said the document called for the intimidation of voters and for petrol bomb attacks.

#### Democratic Party Poll Favors Worrall as Leader

MB0608113789 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES  
in English 6 Aug 89 p 1

[By Brian Pottinger]

[Text] Dr Denis Worrall has the support of nearly half the Democratic Party's [DP] voters when it comes to choosing a party leader, according to a recent poll.

The poll—carried out in five constituencies before nomination day—was part of a wider survey conducted by Wits [Witwatersrand] University's Centre for Policy Studies, on behalf of the SUNDAY TIMES.

The survey shows that Dr Worrall, a former South African ambassador to Britain, is streets ahead of co-leaders Dr Zach de Beer and Mr Wynand Malan in the popularity stakes.

Among those DP members who wanted one leader, Dr Worrall scored 48 percent, Dr De Beer 33 percent and Mr Malan 19 percent.

However, 16 percent of all DP supporters polled felt the three-man leadership should continue, while 21 percent were unable to decide.

English-speaking DP members were 52 percent in favour of Dr Worrall, with only 15 percent for Mr Malan. Afrikaans-speaking DP members mustered 44 percent behind Mr Malan and 28 percent opted for Dr Worrall.

In Randburg, where Mr Malan is defending his seat against a serious challenge from the NP's [National Party] Mr Glenn Babb, the situation is slightly different.

Among DP supporters there, Dr Worrall scored on 24 percent, Dr De Beer 40 percent and Mr Malan 36 percent.

Dr Worrall's massive lead in the opinion polls does not make him an automatic choice were the DP to hold a leadership election tomorrow. The party final say.

**Worrall Says NP's Anti-DP Ad Will 'Backfire'**  
*MB0708115789 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY  
in English 7 Aug 89 p 1*

[By Riaan Smit]

[Text] An NP [National Party] advertisement in Sunday newspapers, which depicts the DP [Democratic Party] as taking its cue from the ANC [African National Congress]/SA Communist Party [SACP] and as paving the way for an ANC/SACP government, would back-fire, DP co-leader Denis Worrall said yesterday.

He said to accuse himself and fellow DP leader Wynand Malan "of, in effect, treasonable action, is simply stupid."

Worrall said the NP was "hopelessly underestimating" the intelligence of those the DP was attracting.

The full-page advertisement carries a photograph of DP co-leader Wynand Malan and DP economic advisor Sampie Terreblanche seated with SACP general secretary Joe Slovo and the late Johnny Makhatini, the ANC's former information department head taken in West Germany last year.

It asks: "Are these men planning your future?"

Worrall said there had been numerous highly publicised contacts between SA ministers and Russians, Cubans and other Marxists. "And by implication, how is President Botha excluded from the suggestion of treasonable conduct for having tea with a convicted traitor and an alleged communist?"

Terreblanche categorically denied he was a socialist or had such tendencies while Malan could not be reached.

**CP Dissociates Itself From 'Offensive Ditty'**  
*MB0408120289 Johannesburg Domestic Service  
in English 1100 GMT 4 Aug 89*

[Text] The Conservative Party [CP] has strongly denied that it is responsible for a song in which derogatory remarks were made about the state president, Mr P.W. Botha, and about blacks.

The spokesman for the CP told our political news staff in Pretoria that the party did not identify itself with the song and that it believed that the song was the work of a group of individuals. Reports say that a group of CP supporters sang the song at a public meeting at Evander.

The spokesman added that the CP did not want to alienate other population groups. He said that the party was decent and that it did not associate itself with that sort of offensive ditty.

**NP 'To Capitalize' on 'Racist Song'**  
*MB0608123989 Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR  
in English 6 Aug 89 p 4*

[By Sarah Sussens]

[Text] The National Party propaganda machine has gone into top gear to capitalise on a racist song sung at a Conservative Party [CP] election meeting which, says the NP, "exposes the CP for what it is."

But the CP has rapidly tried to distance itself from the group of supporters who sang the song at the Evander meeting this week.

According to the Afrikaans newspaper BEELD, this occurred before CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht entered the hall to make a speech.

The group sang to the tune of "Frere Jacques" or "Vader Jacob". "P.W. Botha, P.W. Botha, Slaap jy nog, slaap jy nog? Hoor hoe roep die kaffers, hoor hoe roep die kaffers: Gee ons grond, gee ons grond..." [P.W. Botha, P.W. Botha, Are you sleeping, are sleeping? Hear the Kaffirs calling, Hear the Kaffirs calling: Give us land...]

The MP for the area, Mr Rossier de Ville (CP), said he would publicly apologise to the State President and slammed the song as being in bad taste.

Dr Boy Geldenhuys, senior director of the NP's federal information bureau, said his party would definitely make use of the incident in its propaganda against the CP.

"We have always said supporters of the CP are racist and this has now been proven clearly."

Courts have held that the use of the word "kaffer" constitutes crimen injuria. Mr de Ville, a lawyer, said he was aware of the problems relating to the word as he had often defended people who had used it.

CP spokesman Mr Andries Beyers shrugged off the incident as "just one of those things that happened".

He refused to let the SUNDAY STAR speak to Dr Treurnicht, saying: "I won't waste his time on such a matter."

Mr Beyers said the incident had occurred before the meeting began. The CP did not condone the use of "kaffer".

The NP candidate for the seat Mr Willa Hefer, said the song was in very bad taste. "Apart from using the name of the State President in such a manner, it is also naked racism."

**Conservative Party Says Partition 'Only Solution'**  
*MB2507123689 Johannesburg SAPA in English*  
*1015 GMT 25 Jul 89*

[Text] Pretoria July 25 SAPA—In its election manifesto, the Conservative Party says partition is the only solution for South Africa's constitutional problems.

The party believes the only way in which a people can be protected against domination and can exercise their right to self-determination unhindered is in their own states under their own governments.

"Partition brings to an end the domination of one people by another."

The CP says partition has been successfully applied throughout the world.

"Europe was divided into different countries by partition; South America and Africa are other examples."

In Africa alone, 50 different states had been created by partition.

In southern Africa, examples were Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Transkei, Ciskei, Venda and Bophuthatswana.

"Partition is a system which has been applied worldwide with success to bring an end to strife and conflict."

The CP says the concept is also recognised in international law.

"According to international law, people have the fundamental right to rule themselves in their own countries. This situation comes about by partition (division of land). The whites demand for themselves this right."

The CP rejects the "ungrounded criticism" that partition failed in South Africa, and maintains that it was just beginning to succeed when the National party began "steadily to replace it with an integrationist policy".

The CP will use all measures at its disposal to help develop the black states so that the "maximum number of blacks can be accommodated in their own states and the minimum remain in white South Africa".

The party would re-introduce influx control, and would encourage and promote decentralisation and border industries in or near black states.

Labour preference areas would be introduced, whereby, for example, Natal would be a labour preference area for Zulus, the eastern Cape for Xhosas and the western Cape for coloureds.

Only white trade unions will be allowed in South Africa and all other trade unions disbanded.

"Other machinery for the settlement of labour disputes will be established."

The CP would not negotiate with the ANC [African National Congress] "or any other terrorist organisation which practices or promotes violence and communism, nor will the party allow any such negotiation to take place".

**Solidarity Party Issues Election Manifesto**  
*MB0108181289 Umtata Capital Radio in English*  
*1500 GMT 1 Aug 89*

[Text] The Indian party, Solidarity, has threatened to block future legislation unless the South African Government agrees to negotiate on a number of key issues, including the release of political prisoners. Carmel Rickard reports from Durban:

Solidarity's election manifesto was launched in Durban today. The party, which presently holds 21 seats of the 45 in the House, is standing on a platform promising that Solidarity will refuse to approve any further legislation in parliament unless the government agrees to negotiate key demands such as the release of political prisoners and lifting the state of emergency.

On the question of the Democratic Party [DP] contesting seats in the HOD [House of Delegates] elections, the party's national [words indistinct] told me they believed in amounts to declaring war on solidarity. He said the DP was fielding a candidate in the constituency of Solidarity's leader, thus trying him down and [word indistinct] seemed doubtful there could be any working relationship between Solidarity and the DP after the election.

**Police Restrict Athlone Bombing Victims' Funeral**  
*MB0408105289 Johannesburg SAPA in English*  
*0928 GMT 4 Aug 89*

[Text] Cape Town, Aug 4 SAPA—Police have placed restrictions on the funeral of two Cape Town political activists who died in a bomb blast in Athlone last month.

The funeral service for Robbie Waterwitch, 20 and Coline Williams, 22, will be held in the Roman Catholic church at Athlone tomorrow morning, with the burial service at Maitland.

The regional Commissioner of Police, Maj Gen Flip Fourie, today ordered that no funeral, and no ceremonial gathering in connection with the burial shall be held otherwise than in accordance with the following conditions:

- That no such ceremonial gathering, insofar as it takes the form of a memorial service, commemorative service or any other service (except at the graves) shall be held out of doors.
- That only an ordained minister of a religious denomination or organisation may act as a speaker at such funeral or ceremonial gatherings.
- That no person who has attended any memorial service, commemorative service or any other service in connection with the burial shall proceed otherwise than by vehicle from the place where the memorial service, commemorative service or other service was held to the place where they are to be buried.
- That a funeral procession formed for the burial shall not proceed from the place where any memorial service, commemorative service or other service was held, to the place where they are to be buried, along any other route than a route approved by the regional commissioner.
- That no person shall display or distribute any flags, banners, placards, pamphlets, posters, or stickers, at the funeral or any ceremonial gathering in connection with the burial. This condition shall not affect the distribution of any customary funeral notice.

**Police Detain 10 Cape Student 'Activists'**  
*MB0408103689 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
0945 GMT 4 Aug 89*

[Text] Cape Town Aug 4 SAPA—At least 10 Cape Flats high school activists have been detained under the emergency regulations, according to lawyers.

Three were detained on Wednesday [2 August] night ahead of a meeting of members of the restricted Western Cape Students Congress.

They are Eugene Paramore, a matric pupil at Excelsior High School, Belhar, Denver Christians a pupil at Belhar No 2, and a boy from Mitchells Plain, Errol April.

Lawyers said last night that Eugene had had two open-heart operations.

"He is on daily medication and police have given permission to his family to deliver his penicillin tablets and other capsules to him," a spokesman for E. Moosa and Associates said.

Lawyers said the other pupils in detention were all from Mitchells Plain. They are Freda and Walleen Mostert, of Mondale High School; Siraj Ebrahim, Ronald Jacobs and Estelle Leonard of Glendale Higt. School; Jacque Baartman and Gloria Veale of Cedar High School.

The Education Front, a group of Cape Flats educationists, in a statement last night expressed its concern about the situation at Western Cape Schools, especially the detention of pupils and presence of security forces at schools.

**Indaba Chairman Pledges Election Noninvolvement**  
*MB0308140189 Umtata Capital Radio in English  
1000 GMT 3 Aug 89*

[Text] The chairman of the KwaZulu Natal Indaba, Oscar Dlomo, says the Indaba will pursue what he called a scrupulous policy of noninvolvement in the elections. He says he hopes all political parties respect this. He says the Indaba has no part in political allegiances and is removed from such activities. Dlomo says the Indaba initiative is designed to change the constitutional landscape in which political parties operate, and open it to the full participation by all people in the region.

**Bosasa Rejects Verwoerburg 'Free' Areas Request**  
*MB0308094289 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
0745 GMT 5 Aug 89*

[Text] Pretoria Aug 3 SAPA—A request to declare two townships in Pretoria's conservative white suburb of Verwoerburg "free settlement areas"—open to all races for residential purposes—has been refused by the government-appointed Free Settlement Board.

A statement received today from the board's chairman, Mr Hein Kruger, said it was decided on July 12 not to proceed with the proposed investigation into opening the white Verwoerburg townships known as reeds extensions 4 and 17 to all races. No reasons were given.

Mr Kruger told SAPA the free settlement act stipulated that the board may or may not give reasons for rejecting applications.

**'Comrades' Step Up KwaMashu Violence, Killings**  
*MB0408104089 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
0952 GMT 4 Aug 89*

[Text] Durban, Aug 4, SAPA—"Comrades" unleashed a reign of terror in KwaMashu, north of Durban, last night, which culminated in two men dying after being stabbed 75 times altogether.

The situation in the township's H Section, where the men lived, was tense today as residents feared an open war between them and the comrades could break out.

Two policemen were killed in the same township this week as they were watching a soccer match between local schools. Constables A. Deyi and M.V. Mchunu were shot by unknown people at Number Two football ground in F section. Their firearms were taken during the attack.

Police are still searching for their killers.

The residents of the townships are becoming increasingly known as "gun-toting" residents, with certain sections, particularly section L, becoming a "No-go" zone, according to one resident.

A police spokesman said today that a group of youths, allegedly comrades, had a meeting in an open space between H and L Sections last night. After the meeting about 100 of them went to house H338 and abducted Mr Bongani Mhlongo (24), they then went to house H295 where they abducted Mr Sipho Mkhwanazi (23).

The two men were then taken back to the space where the meeting had been held and were killed. Mr Mkhwanazi had 35 stab wounds and Mr Mhlongo had 40.

A resident of K section said today that they did not sleep on Wednesday [2 August] night as there were sounds of gunshots throughout the night.

He said on that night comrades moved from house to house wanting young boys to swell their ranks and attacking the "senyoras" (widely believed to be linked to a number of murders, incidents of arson and attacks on individuals).

Police are investigating the death of Mr Mhlongo and Mr Mkhwanazi, but so far have made no arrests.

**UN Official Ahtisaari Arrives in Pretoria**  
*MB0208124089 Umtata Capital Radio in English*  
*1200 GMT 2 Aug 89*

[Text] United Nations special representative in Namibia Martti Ahtisaari has arrived in Pretoria on a brief visit.

He will deliver a paper on the territory tomorrow at a conference arranged by the University of Pretoria's institute for strategic studies. Namibia's administrator general, Louis Pienaar, will also address the conference.

**Soviet Embassy in Harare Denies Trade Links**  
*MB2607085289 Lusaka Domestic Service in English*  
*0500 GMT 26 Jul 89*

[Text] The Soviet Embassy in Harare has denied press reports that there was a possibility of the Soviet Union establishing trade links with apartheid-ruled South Africa.

Secretary to the Soviet ambassador in Zimbabwe Aleksandr Kuchikov said the possibility was out of question, adding that there were no changes in the racist regime. He said such reports are only intended to divide the Soviet Union and the African countries.

**Buthelezi Addresses World Bankers on 'New Age'**  
*MB0208074189 Johannesburg SAPA in English*  
*0722 GMT 2 Aug 89*

[Text] Johannesburg August 2 SAPA—Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said today South Africa was on the threshold of a new age in which whites would accept racial integration as their only hope of survival.

The KwaZulu chief minister said this in a speech to a group of international bankers in Johannesburg.

"I am not saying this because I believe there will be a change of heart among white South Africans. I believe this because (they) will be as pragmatic as necessary to protect their vested interests."

Although the country would have to live through a difficult transition period, there were a number of factors which indicated the time was ripe for a non-violent means of bringing about a new South Africa, he said.

These factors included:

- "The failure of the externally-based armed struggle to bring about change despite the really massive international, financial, diplomatic and military aid given to revolutionaries"
- "The acceptance by the Soviet Union, the United States, Cuba and Angola that southern African issues could not be settled through violence."
- "The fact that the vast majority of blacks still demonstrably favoured non-violent means of achieving equality espoused by the original ANC [African National Congress]," and
- "And the fact that, although black democracy had been shackled by draconian laws and the banning and jailing of individuals and organisations, one can clearly see that black South Africans vote with their feet in support of non-violent tactics and strategies."

Dr Buthelezi said the time had never been more auspicious for negotiated progress towards political and social harmony in South Africa.

"There is now formal, legal and constitutional recognition that blacks are South Africans and that they can remain South Africans in one state," he said.

**Economists Urge 'Corrective' Economic Action**  
*MB0208110389 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY*  
*in English 2 Aug 89 p 4*

[By Gerald Reilly]

[Text] Pretoria—Corrective economic action cannot be delayed any longer, say Volkskas economists.

The only option if growth is the aim, they say, is "to do the right economic things and keep on doing them."

In their Economic Spotlight they stress government will have to take the initiative through fiscal and monetary policies.

There is reason for deep concern that if certain tendencies in the economy go unchecked, and are not reversed soon, considerable problems hampering prosperity could result.

The longer these tendencies continue unchecked, the more difficult it will be to restore the country to prosperity, they say.

Among them is the worrying aspect of low productivity, and the declining productivity, and the declining productivity of capital in particular. This has dropped by 32 percent between 1970 and 1987.

Lack of capital and skilled labour are major economic impediments, especially with the disinvestment campaign operating against SA.

Also of deep concern is that in relative terms, sometimes in absolute terms, less funds are being channelled to direct-producing sectors, while investment in social infrastructure, however necessary, has increased.

The issue is one of priorities; investment in social assets has to be a consequence of economic growth and wealth.

They are not a prerequisite for growth.

Impacting negatively on growth, too, is the steady decline in savings.

At the same time government spending has exceeded current income for several years, resulting in "dissaving."

This puts constant pressure on the current account of the balance of payments and to weaker exchange rates, higher interest rates and inflation.

It also renders fixed investment—and, therefore, capital formation—less attractive and stifles growth.

**Reserve Bank Governor De Kock Dies 7 Aug**  
*MB0708062389 Johannesburg Domestic Service*  
*in English 0500 GMT 7 Aug 89*

[Text] We have just heard that the Governor of the Reserve Bank, De Gerard de Kock, died this morning. Dr de Kock resigned from his position recently. Dr de Kock, who was suffering from cancer, had been in ill health for some time.

**Commentary Praises De Kock's Career**  
*MB0808053089 Johannesburg Domestic Service*  
*in English 0500 GMT 8 Aug 89*

[Station commentary]

[Text] The name of Dr Gerhard de Kock will be immortalized in South Africa's economic history. It is one that has become familiar to all South Africans, not only because it has been clearly etched on millions of bank notes since the beginning of this decade, but also because the impeccably mannered central banker has been a familiar voice and a familiar face on our radios and our television screens and a constant source of news for the South Africans press.

The contribution made to South Africa's economic life by Dr de Kock is immeasurable. He held the country's most senior monetary post, that of governor of the Reserve Bank, during its most crucial years. In these years, two elements were entrenched that were to change the face of the South African economy for all time. The first was the international break from fixed rates to a world system of floating rates. In this regard, Dr de Kock can rightfully be seen as the architect of this country's modern monetary system.

This he did from the basis of his position as chairman of the Commission of Inquiry into the Monetary System and Monetary Policy in South Africa, later to be known simply as the "De Kock Commission". Then, secondly, there was the crisis concerning international investor confidence in South Africa. The country's indebtedness to Dr de Kock and his successor, Dr Chris Stals, in hammering out the debt standstill agreement with hundreds of largely hostile bankers has not yet been fully revealed.

With the introduction of an era of vast changes to our monetary structure, Dr de Kock brought to society another talent that was to prove invaluable: an ability to communicate, in simple terms, the most complex economic developments, and an ability to reassure a public often overawed and intimidated by the fast-changing economic environment.

In this, he represented a dramatic departure from the image of previous central bankers, and he truly became a friend to the public and the media. On the international stage, Dr de Kock's style won him many friends and close acquaintances among the leading monetary figures in the world.

The last 5 years have been the most testing of all for this central banker, as he saw his well-designed monetary structure assailed by the most difficult circumstances any economy has had to face. There were the years of drought, the fall in the gold price, political unrest, and the international banking community turning its back on South Africa. Throughout it all, Dr de Kock maintained an unshakeable faith in allowing the markets to dictate

events and influence policy. His role in keeping the South African economy on course these last few stormy years was recognized by the international magazine *EUROMONEY* last year, when it named him one of the world's two top central bankers.

In his lifetime, Dr de Kock also contributed to legislation to ensure the independence of the Reserve Bank from the political system. But he deeply respected the influence of politics, and always took great pains to convince those in power of the need for certain economic action. He was always keenly aware of the needs and wants of the average person. Even his most ardent critics will admit that, where he did err, it was on the side of leniency. In the passing of Gerhard de Kock, the country has lost a giant in banking and economics.

**NEW NATION Publishes Weekly 'Update'**  
*MB0408123389 Johannesburg NEW NATION*  
*in English 4-10 Aug 89 p 6*

[“Update” column]

[Text] About 440 out of very 100,000 people were in prison in South Africa, the highest in the world, according to the SA [South African] Apartheid Barometer.

The daily average prison population in SA for December last year was 109,924, says the SA Barometer.

SA prisons can accommodate 83,895 people.

The daily average prison population for 1987 was 115,000, the SA Barometer added.

Of the total prison population in 1986/87—28.4 percent were married people, says the SA Barometer.

Of the prison population, 46.7 percent had primary education, 32.6 percent high school education and 0.5 percent had post-matric qualifications, according to the SA Barometer.

The government spent a total of R1,382,843 per day, at R12.58 per person, to keep the people in prison last year, according to the SA Barometer.

There were 19,997 unsentenced people in SA prisons by the end of December last year, says the SA Barometer.

\* **Ethnic Areas Determined Spontaneously**  
*34010037a Johannesburg RAPPORT in Afrikaans*  
*4 Jun 89 p 27*

[Article by Anne-Marie Mischke: “Groups: ‘Invisible Hand’ Determines Who Lives Where: Living Patterns Cannot Be Enforced by Legislation”; first paragraph is RAPPORT introduction]

[Text] A dynamic and irrepressible process determines the living patterns of people from different ethnic groups. Nothing can stop this process—neither legislation to force integration nor legislation to stop it. This

process has been under way in South Africa as well, despite the Group Areas Act. That law's day as an instrument for determining living patterns has passed. These ideas were recently voiced during a conference at RAU [Rand Afrikaans University] by two prominent researchers, Johan Fick and Christo de Coning. Anne-Marie Mischke discusses their presentation:

Ethnicity is a word that is preferably avoided these days in respectable, enlightened company—or in any event in all company to the left of the Conservative Party.

The trouble that we have with ethnicity is a far cry from the days of discrimination against certain ethnic groups by another group, in the name of apartheid.

Thus, any suggestion that ethnicity could still play a role in our future system is greeted in many places today with a great deal of suspicion. To many people's minds, an acknowledgement of ethnicity is synonymous with an attempt to divide and conquer, or even worse, with apartheid at its very worst.

Thus, the National Party [NP] prefers these days to talk about “groups” and the “group idea,” even though this still involves ethnicity. To the left of the NP, there is an effort to find ways to reassure the (white) minority without accommodating ethnicity in their policy, or the existence of ethnicity is not recognized at all.

These days, however, there are signs here and there of a new, more clear-headed approach. It sounds more or less like this: Ethnicity is a fact. It can play a dynamic role in social structures in particular. But those structural processes must be allowed to follow their own course. The preservation of ethnicity should not be forced by legislation, nor should ethnicity be misused to further advance privileged groups.

This naturally has implications for writing the constitution, but also for social structures or, to be even more specific, the establishment of residential areas and the Group Areas Act.

One of the best explanations yet of this approach, especially with respect to living patterns, was recently provided by two researchers at a conference on this subject at RAU. They were Mr Johan Fick of RAU's Department of Developmental Studies and a former colleague of his, Mr Christo de Coning, a researcher on urban development for the Bank for Development.

Some time ago, they attracted attention with their research in 13 U.S. cities. Afterwards, they also conducted research in Windhoek, Mafikeng, Harare, and South America. Moreover, their findings are backed up by similar findings by a number of international researchers.

First of all, they say, ethnicity is alive, and is present not only here in South Africa, but in many other places as well. In contrast to the rejection of subcultures and group loyalties during the rise of the nation-state in the last century, there is a growing recognition today that ethnic conflict is a strongly creative force. Researchers the world over are finding that a growing number of people in many countries are insisting on recognition of their group identity.

Even well-meaning attempts to desegregate have often instead strengthened ethnic ties. Ironically enough, corrective measures (affirmative action) in the United States, for example, have had to use ethnicity as one of the basic cornerstones: In order to comply with legal requirements that they employ a certain number of people from each minority group, employers were obligated to keep an ethnic register of their employees. Ethnic classification, which in principle does not differ significantly from racial classification, in a strange way became an important instrument in the process of desegregation.

In many multiethnic cities—in the United States, Great Britain, and the Netherlands—residential areas remain segregated. Ten years after abolition of the Group Areas Act in South-West Africa/Namibia, truly integrated neighborhoods in Windhoek today are as rare as they were a decade ago. In Mafikeng as well, the residential areas for the most part remained separate after the Groups Areas Act was abolished when Bophuthatswana became independent.

The most recent study conducted by Messrs Fick and De Coning, in Latin America, confirmed the aforementioned trends. It is only about Harare that they are unable to draw clear conclusions, due to the large-scale white emigration out of Zimbabwe.

The reasons generally given for the phenomenon of monochrome residential areas in multiethnic cities are well-known: historical conditioning, the stereotypical image that one group has of another, the tendency of groups to maintain their exclusivity in spite of themselves, and economic conditions.

These factors are correct, the two researchers say, but they are not the whole story. Residential settlement patterns are determined by a dynamic and irrepressible process. How else could there still be so much ethnic disunity, especially in residential areas, in the United States? And this after so much has been done for nearly 30 years to promote, even force integration?

And how else could there be so much mixing in South African residential areas, despite the strict legislation prohibiting it?

Thus, there must be a natural process that no one can stop, and Messrs Fick and De Coning support the findings of another researcher, Thomas Schelling, about how the process works.

Schelling has found that individuals have "micromotives" which induce "macrobehavior."

For example, consumer spending can result in inflation and even depression, even though this was not the intent of any of the individual consumers while spending money. In the same way, the individual residents of a neighborhood may each have their own reasons for deciding separately to move away, but their ultimate goal is not to change the racial composition of a neighborhood. Segregated living patterns emerge because of individual choices, almost as if a large invisible hand is sorting individuals of different colors, like on a chess board.

In practice, people of color A and people of color B can "immigrate" into a neighborhood until there are just as many A's as B's—but eventually there will be more of one color than of the other. Individuals of the minority color begin to move out...and eventually you have a monochrome neighborhood again.

Transition periods can be tense, and government intervention or economic factors can play a role, but ultimately nothing can stop the process. Nor is anything final; a neighborhood's racial mix can change over and over again in the course of many years.

However, Messrs Fick and De Coning ask, if this process is so dynamic and irrepressible, what is the government's role? Their response:

- Living patterns cannot be imposed by legislation. This has been proven by attempts to integrate in the United States and the failure of the Group Areas Act in many South African residential areas. It is a myth that the Group Areas Act will ensure separate community lives for South Africans in the future. However, community interests are not threatened, since there is no reason to believe that the settlement of neighborhoods, natural and dynamic, will be different in South Africa from how it is anywhere else in the world.
- In constitutional terms, the government must develop a maximum freedom of choice, association and disassociation for the individual.
- A balance is needed between individual rights and group loyalties, but recognizing groups does not mean favoring one group over others. Enough housing and infrastructure must be created before the dynamic process will go its course.
- Government action must also facilitate the inevitable consequences of natural residential area settlement, with special attention to managing conflict, alienation and frustration in neighborhoods in transition.

**1 Aug Press Review on Current Problems, Issues**  
**MB0108114789**

[Editorial Report]

**THE CITIZEN**

**Mass Movement Not Democratic**—The page 6 editorial in Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 1 August comments on the disruption by students of the debate on the Witwatersrand University campus between Democratic party (DP) coleader Zach de Beer, Frederick van Zyl Slabbert of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, and Steven Friedman of THE WEEKLY MAIL. "In the same way as the Black students denied Dr de Beer and the other two speakers the right to be heard, so the Mass Democratic Movement [MDM], through its defiance campaign, is trying to deny voters their democratic right to vote. Neither the students nor the MDM are democrats by any standard, and the DP should not try to whitewash or excuse them—or have any links with the MDM."

**THE STAR**

**State 'Reassurance' Needed on Apartheid Eradication**—Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 1 August in a page 14 editorial comments on the MDM's hospital protest, due to start on 2 August, saying: "At the heart of the matter is a simple truth: the situation has arisen because a government which promised to eradicate apartheid still persists in applying it. There is only one way to defuse things. This is for the Cabinet to announce—now, before the election—the specifics of its promises. If apartheid is to go, is it to go everywhere? And, if so, when? A proper reassurance might quickly render this week's protest unnecessary."

**Decks 'Cleared' for RSA Aid to Mozambique**—"Mozambique's decision to formally abandon Marxism underlines a process that has been developing over years," remarks a second editorial on the same page. "The country has been quietly jettisoning its ideological baggage in efforts to forestall a complete economic and administrative collapse." "Now, perhaps the decks can be cleared for South Africa [RSA] and other Western nations to come to Mozambique's aid without qualms. Together they can help it become a viable nation for the benefit of the whole region."

**BUSINESS DAY**

**Mozambique's Shift From Marxism Welcomed**—A page 10 editorial in Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 1 August says: "Mozambique's shift from Marxism to an avowedly socialist and increasingly free market economy will not end the country's economic or political ills. But by recognizing in ideology what has been happening on the ground, Mozambique's leaders have taken another of the steps which will be essential if that shattered nation is ever to make a great leap

forward." "Mozambique's rulers have had to recognise that individuals are better than the state at creating jobs and putting goods on the shelves."

**Criticism of Student 'Jackboot' Tactics**—Students who "actively disrupt the exercise of freedom of speech at universities" have "no place at these institutions," observes a second editorial on the same page. "University authorities have in the past bent over backwards (some would say too far backwards) to accommodate the views of vociferous extremist students." In the case of the Witwatersrand University, "this has led to the establishment of a committee which requires that opposing political views be heard at campus meetings. But this was not sufficient yesterday to enable the views of DP coleader Zach de Beer to be heard or opposed. A militant student group decided that MP's should not be given a platform." These "jackboot tactics, whether perpetrated by the Left or the Right, do not belong at a university."

**VRYE WEEKBLAD**

**NP Arouses Fear Among White Voters**—"The plans of the United Democratic Front-related groups to lead a campaign of patient resistance and protest just before the 6 September election, must be approached with caution and understanding," says a page 14 editorial in Johannesburg VRYE WEEKBLAD in Afrikaans on 28 July. "The ruling National Party has already aroused a feeling of fear among white voters with its usual forcefulness and its ability to make mountains out of molehills." VRYE WEEKBLAD points out that "the groups that planned the campaign mostly represent the black majority. These people do not have the right to vote on 6 September for the government that is going to control their lives for the next 5 years. The days that these people sat submissively in the background and watched their country being ruled are gone forever." VRYE WEEKBLAD also believes "it is important that at this stage of our development the government does not liken patient resistance to violence. If peaceful protest is made impossible, it can only lead to violence."

**ILANGA**

**Editorial on Black Leadership**—Durban ILANGA in Zulu for 27-29 July in a page 4 editorial says: "Many blacks who see themselves as political leaders, and so-called 'spokesmen' for nonspecific organizations, like the antiapartheid movement, like to use the phrase 'authentic leaders'. This is just a psychological ploy by those who fancy themselves as kingmakers here and abroad, and their main preoccupation seems to be to belittle other 'black' leaders in South Africa." "Very few things damage black unity more than this willful choice of political leadership." Inkatha President Buthelezi "hit the nail on the head when he noted there would be no real progress toward negotiation with whites while blacks make a sport of tearing one another to pieces and indulge

in character assassination." "The time has come to expose these people who hinder the march for liberation, so that they are seen for what they really are."

## 2 Aug Press Review

MB0208113489

[Editorial Report]

### THE STAR

**Witwatersrand Students Display 'Closed Minds'**—"Universities which strive to foster free minds and free spirits tend to suffer more from abuse of those precious liberties than do their more regimented counterparts," observes a page 14 editorial in Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 2 August. THE STAR refers to the "loutish behaviour" of Witwatersrand University students who prevented Democratic Party (DP) guest speaker Zach de Beer, and Frederick van Zyl Slabbert of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, from addressing a meeting on campus, saying "it is right that the university should take disciplinary steps against the offenders: for preventing free speech, for imposing their will on others and, above all, for displaying precisely the kind of closed minds that they purport to abjure in others."

### BUSINESS DAY

**Mass Movement May Save NP's 'Election Bacon'**—"The amorphous mass democratic movement may yet save the National Party's (NP) election bacon," remarks Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 2 August in a page 14 editorial. "The NP desperately wants a security campaign to take voters' minds off other things, like the economy." "Large-scale public protests spilling over into violence and a police crackdown, attacks on politicians, particularly those standing for the coloured and Indian parliamentary chambers, and a general disruption of public order in the name of exposing apartheid ills will cause a surge of votes for the NP. There will be a spin-off for right-wing candidates who will accuse government of taking inadequate steps to counter violent subversion."

### SOWETAN

**Editorial Condemns Student Disruption of Meeting**—"The University of the Witwatersrand students who disrupted a meeting where Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer was to speak this week should take a few minutes to think about their deeds," observes the page 6 editorial in Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 2 August. The students caused "resentment among potential supporters with their crude behaviour." "As we fight apartheid, we should be thinking of the values that we want to transfer to a post-apartheid society and surely intolerance is not one of them."

### CAPE TIMES

**Extraparliamentary Campaigns Benefit CP**—"Extra-parliamentary campaigns which unsettle the electorate distract attention from other issues, such as economic hardship and high-level corruption, which have angered voters and rattled the government," remarks a page 6 editorial in Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English on 28 July. "Diversions of this kind, in fact, could help get the NP off the hook. But the major beneficiary would be the Conservative Party, which is seeking to establish itself on the far right as the ultimate guardian of this country's security, and is happy to exploit the anxieties of the electorate. If the Nationalists were to climb on the bandwagon, trying to outdo their old comrades in scaremongering as in 1987, the National Party would help drive its own supporters into the CP's arms."

### TRANSVALER

**Criticism of Democratic Support for Election 'Disruption'**—"Instead of admonishing the so-called extraparliamentary organizations about their vicious disruption plans," Democratic Party coleader Wynand Malan made the "characteristic yes-but noises," says Johannesburg TRANSVALER in Afrikaans on 31 July in a page 6 editorial. He said "yes, those people should abandon their plans but the NP must distinguish between bombs and protest." TRANSVALER believes that Malan "will convince no one of his true colors like that; not even his extraparliamentary friends."

**NP Advertisements Commitment to New Dispensation**—A second editorial on the same page comments on the NP's election advertisements signed by F.W. de Klerk, saying that by doing so "De Klerk is confirming the NP's promise to work industriously on a new dispensation. That is hopeful, and therein lies the difference between the NP and its opposition, to its right and left, who have shown themselves to be people of scraped-together politics, and who make promises they cannot possibly keep."

### DIE BURGER

**Democrats Pose 'Security Risk'**—The mass democratic movement's campaign to disrupt the election is "causing serious problems for the DP" says a page 22 editorial in Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans on 28 July. "The DP clucks disapprovingly over such plans of violence, but in the same breath says people should understand that these people are frustrated because they do not have the right to vote. However, such violence occurs mostly in communities that do have the right to vote." DIE BURGER believes the DP "is a security risk, and at the same time it is working toward a stalemate Parliament after the election, by giving maximum help to those on the far right in border constituencies. How can such a party be trusted with South Africa's interests?"

**Opposition Parties Should Be Scrutinized**—Cape Town DIE BURGER in English on 31 July in a page 10 editorial says: "In an election where opposition parties are doing everything in their power to build a protest against the NP, it is important that the other parties be placed under a spotlight. Voters who because of all sorts of grievances want to vote against the NP, must be made aware of the consequences if one of the opposition parties should obtain power." DIE BURGER believes that "neither the left wing nor the right wing can bring peace and progress to the country. That should be spelled out to the voters."

### BEELD

**Voters Will Not 'Overlook' DP Support of Mass Movement**—The MDM and those who promote its propaganda "are playing with fire," says a page 10 editorial in Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans on 31 July. "Its proposed passive resistance against the tricameral Parliament and apartheid, and its calls for an election boycott, can create an emotional climate where incited people can get out of hand—with serious consequences for future peaceful negotiations." DP leader Zach de Beer "has already said that if the resistance action succeeds, the DP will be the greatest loser. That is not all the DP should fear. The role its leaders played in the growth of the sort of extraparliamentary organizations that form the MDM will not be overlooked by the voters."

**Editorial on Validity of Opinion Polls**—Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans on 1 August says in a page 16 editorial that opinion polls are "eagerly constructing a House of Assembly where no party has an absolute majority." However, BEELD points out that "most opinion surveys were conducted before the large parties released their election manifestos. They were also conducted before P.W. Botha's meeting with Nelson Mandela, before the MDM's resistance campaign, and before attacks on the DP. Circumstances change rapidly. Why then should a conscientious voter still vote for the CP, especially as it is still proposing a warmed-up, decades-old policy?"

### THE NAMIBIAN

**Pienaar 'Prescribing' To Future Government**—On page 10 of Windhoek THE NAMIBIAN in English on 28 July editor Gwen Lister writes in her "Political Perspective" column that by creating a "directorate of foreign interests" Administrator General Louis Pienaar "seems to be prescribing to a future independent Namibian government." "The temerity of Mr Pienaar is astounding. After granting himself an effective veto right over the future Constituent Assembly, he then goes on to dictate to Namibians concerning their soon-to-be independent state." Pienaar "is hardly acting in the spirit of 'free and fair' in the current process."

### 3 Aug Press Review

MB0308105289

[Editorial Report]

### THE CITIZEN

**Editorial Tries to Justify P.W. Botha Hunting Trip**—Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 3 August says in its page 6 editorial the Conservative Party's (CP) "bombshell" over Mr P.W. Botha's hunting trip on a friend's farm in the [Orange] Free State has blown up in its face" because the auditor general said the South African Police "acted correctly in making available a vehicle for transporting game shot by the State President." "Even if there hadn't been provision for the transport of the State President's 'effects', what in Heaven's name was wrong with the State President going hunting on a friend's farm and the venison being transported in a police vehicle by policemen who protect him?" "The CP tried to use the matter for electioneering purposes, the DP [Democratic Party] backed it, and both have mud on their faces."

### THE STAR

**Calm Hospital Defiance Shows 'Maturity'**—"Despite dire predictions and some genuine anxiety, the first day of the hospital 'defiance campaign' seems to have passed off in relative calm at the seven targeted hospitals across the country," says a page 10 editorial in Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 3 August. That it did so "is to the credit of all parties concerned." "What yesterday's events showed may be that South Africans are acquiring greater political maturity. Some new colour barriers have been peacefully breached, at least symbolically."

### BUSINESS DAY

**State Should Permanently Desegregate Hospitals**—"There will be relief that the demonstrations against segregation at hospitals round the country yesterday did not lead to any serious incidents," notes a page 10 editorial in Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 3 August. The hospitals opened their facilities to the "genuinely sick, white or black." "The obvious question is why this attitude should not continue tomorrow, the next day, and next week—so that hospital services are no longer segregated. If nothing else, events yesterday showed how easily it could be done. Certainly there would be 'problems', but these are nothing compared with the disastrous state of the country's health services caused by government's insistence on 'own affairs' control."

### SOWETAN

**Criticism of Cricket Union 'Sincerity'**—Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 3 August in its page 4 editorial says "it is naive of cricket boss Dr Ali Bacher" to say the South African Cricket Union's decision to put together a rebel tour is not a wrong one. "Surely by now it must be

obvious to everyone that politics affects every decision of life in this country. This tour must certainly put a cloud of doubt over SACU's sincerity about its much-flaunted township cricket development programme. Are they genuinely trying to help black youngsters or is it all aimed at getting back into the international arena?"

#### CAPE TIMES

**Chissano's Move From Marxism 'Courageous'**—"The decision by Mozambique's ruling Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] party to abandon Marxism-Leninism reflects the courageous pragmatism of President Joaquim Chissano whose policy of negotiation to end the Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] insurgency has also been endorsed by the party," says a page 6 editorial in Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English on 1 August. "The Renamo mercenaries, the chief remaining obstacle to economic recovery, were recruited by Pretoria more than a decade ago to play a surrogate role in destabilizing Mozambique." If President Chissano now wants to restore peace, he "may ultimately have to call on the SADF [South African Defense Force], ironically enough, to deal with its erstwhile surrogates."

#### TRANSVALER

**British Labor Party 'Interference' in RSA**—"It makes one shudder to think how the distressful South African situation can possibly be hampered further by interference from abroad," notes a page 6 editorial in Johannesburg TRANSVALER in Afrikaans on 1 August. "With the sudden rise of the Labor opposition in Britain the picture becomes clearer how those people can make our lives more difficult if they are to take over in 3 years. The dangerous view of Mr Gerald Kaufman, the Labor spokesman on foreign matters, has just been noted. He says nonwhites will not be worse off if the country's economy is forced to its knees—which is something that the Laborites propose to do."

#### DIE BURGER

**Democrats 'Miscalculated' Mass Movement**—Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans on 1 August in a page 10 editorial says: "The DP's concern over the so-called MDM's call for whites to boycott the election, shows how the DP miscalculated the left-wing extremists. The DP clearly believed the radicals' demands would be limited to nonparticipation in the elections" in the Houses of Delegates and Representatives. "If the DP believed its contacts with extraparliamentary groups could get them to change their views, it made a serious mistake."

#### BEELD

**DP's 'Mistakes' Noted**—"The so-called MDM says its driving out of DP coleader Zach de Beer from the Witwatersrand campus is the beginning of a campaign," observes Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans on 2 August in a page 10 editorial. "This also means an accumulation

of problems for the DP. The DP made two fatal mistakes when it embraced the MDM. It acted too indulgently without seeing the dangers of that extraparliamentary movement. It now suddenly finds the MDM wants to destroy Parliament and shamelessly drive out the DP." BEELD believes the DP's second mistake was to "try to place the government under suspicion. Minister Adriaan Vlok's warnings about the danger of violence in the resistance campaign was passed off as a desperate action and a ploy to win votes."

#### NEW NATION

**State Poised To Enter Era of 'Crushnost'**—Johannesburg NEW NATION in English for 28 July-3 August says in its page 6 editorial: "While the rest of the world is well into the era of glasnost, South Africa is once more poised to enter one of crushnost—in the attempt by the State to crush people's structures and their morale." "It is dangerous folly on the part of the government and its apologists to believe that our people can continue to be pacified by promises. We submit that it is unreasonable for our people to be expected to wait in a servile manner for the outcome of the white elections when there isn't even a guarantee, or a carefully thought out political programme, that would turn the government's words into deeds." "The only way we can all break out of this cycle of violence is for the government to realise that it can no longer govern in the old way."

#### DIE REPUBLIKEIN

**Concern Over Refugee Numbers**—A page 8 editorial in Windhoek DIE REPUBLIKEIN in Afrikaans on 30 July asks: "Where are the 80,000 refugees that SWAPO [South-West Africa People's Organization] spoke about earlier? Not even 30,000 have arrived in Namibia, and UNTAG [UN Transition Assistance Group] is considering canceling any further charted flights because there do not seem to be any more refugees. But that is not all that concerns Namibians. The high commissioner for refugees says that since 1 April approximately 41,000 refugees registered in Angola and Zambia for repatriation. Where are they? Of the 30,000, not all came from Angola and Zambia, but also from other countries. Are the rest of the 41,000 still SWAPO prisoners?"

#### 5 Aug Press Review

MB0508155689

[Editorial Report]

#### SATURDAY STAR

**Vlok Should Match Words With Action**—Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok has recently made several statements to the effect that "apartheid was a lost cause and it was no longer the policy of the National Party," notes the Johannesburg SATURDAY STAR in English on 5 August in a page 8 editorial. "Fine words. Magnificent sentiments. But the system he tries to deny still

seems to have considerable life left in it in certain vital areas. If apartheid is indeed no longer NP policy then moves should have begun by now to allow Black patients to use the nearest hospital instead of having to use overcrowded 'own affairs' facilities a long way from where they live." "If the NP is against apartheid, it should be abolishing laws that enforce separation, instead of pushing through a 'free settlement areas law' that will effectively create more groups and further entrench separation." "Mr Vlok and his colleagues would dearly like to be believed. That won't happen until they match words with action."

**White Voters 'Beyond Caring' About Future**— "The question most White voters are asking themselves probably is not whether there is a swing towards the Conservative Party [CP], but rather what the extent of the swing is. It is an interesting question, because there is no doubt in my mind that the political situation in this country is in such a mess that I would not be surprised if people decide on their vote only when entering the polling booth," states Joe Latakgomo in his "Write On!" column on the same page. "The CP almost takes the election as a joke." "The problem is that while all this clowning is going on, the country is burning. The major issues that face this country are certainly not a laughing matter." "White South African voters seem beyond caring about the future. They are worried about now, and their children can fend for themselves in what will probably turn out to be a hostile world."

#### 7 Aug Press Review

MB0708122689

[Editorial Report]

#### SUNDAY STAR

**NP 'Less Honest' Than CP**— The page 10 editorial in Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR in English on 6 August says there "are differences between the CP and the NP, but basically they are brothers conceived in the same racist bed. A vote for the NP is still a vote for apartheid." However, "the one difference between the NP and CP is that the NP is less honest. It still believes it can find an acceptable face for apartheid and sell it to the majority of South Africans and the world." "The dilemma of the DP voters in three-cornered contests may be eased if voters consider one essential point. It is not the DP voter's duty to save the NP from reaping the consequences of its own stupidity and decades of squandered opportunities. If the NP can be shown just how unpopular its policies have become, there may be a powerful incentive for accelerated change. Anyone who contributes to that incentive for change can do so with pride."

**Columnist Addresses Open Letter to White Voters**— Jon Qwelane writes an open letter addressed to the South African voters in his page 13 "Just Jon" column, saying "if voting for a government that promises equality and

justice means to you the advent of nepotism and corruption, robbery and murder, rape and all the other things, please do reconsider." "True, there is a lot of disease and squalor and other things in my community—I will not deny them. But have you ever thought they came about because of the policies of the same government you are tempted to return to power? Let's face it—the Nationalists have always had one species that matters most to them, the whites. It is to that group that most of the national cake is dispensed."

#### SUNDAY TIMES

**Prospect of NP Electoral Defeat Viewed**— "For the first time in 40 years, serious analysts now canvass prospects of the National Party losing its hitherto absolute majority," remarks a page 22 editorial in Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English on 6 August. "Even cabinet ministers no longer airily dismiss the possibility." SUNDAY TIMES believes the NP is "defensive, hesitant and uninspired." "All they can really offer is promises." Also, "there are indications that the leadership struggle may not yet be over. All this has no doubt made it difficult for Mr De Klerk to stamp his authority on the party, let alone its election campaign. He is certainly not helped by the fact that he is not running for Parliament himself." It has also been "defensively hinted by party members that they do not want to peak their campaign too early, as happened in 1987. The ambush, they suggest, lies around the corner. Whatever the reasons, the National Party campaign, with only four weeks to go, appears sclerotic and unconvincing."

#### THE CITIZEN

**Editorial Urges F.W. de Klerk To Be 'Tough'**— "The CP and DP are both banking on a 'hung' Parliament, but there won't be one, and any NP leader who acknowledges the possibility is showing deplorable weakness," remarks Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 7 August in its page 6 editorial. "Talking to the Nationalists, one gets the impression that the P.W. Botha-F.W. de Klerk rift has cast a cloud over the NP from which it has still to recover." "In a transition period from an apartheid to a post-apartheid society, the country needs a strong leader and one who shows himself to be strong. Mr De Klerk fits the bill, but he must get cracking and show that he is a tough, decisive, yet pragmatic leader who will do well as the new State President."

#### THE STAR

**Mass Movement 'Effectively' Polarizes Public Opinion**— "The constitution may ignore the majority of the population when it comes to voting for Parliament, but the Mass Democratic Movement has ensured that black protest against apartheid is going to be a major issue in the general election," notes Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 7 August in a page 12 editorial. "In the space of a few days, the MDM has polarised public opinion more effectively than any party manifesto could do. Its

action has switched attention from the merits of desegregation to the issue of civil disobedience as a tactic of protest." The MDM's actions "have been directed at highlighting unacceptable apartheid. The removal of those unworthy discriminatory practices is South Africa's priority. By its response, the Government has shown itself unready or unwilling to face that priority."

### BUSINESS DAY

**NP Election Answers 'Not Reassuring'**—The NP has "abandoned any thought of trying to recapture the right; its concern now is avoiding having to go into coalition with the Democratic Party," says a page 6 editorial in Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 7 August. "As polling day approaches, the implications of a hung Parliament are increasingly being considered, and the NP's answers are not reassuring." Until government "forcibly curbs its inherent extravagance" there will not be money to put policemen into crime-ridden neighborhoods, nurses into hospitals whose wards are closing, and teachers into understaffed schools. "The determination will have to be added from outside. The NP has ably demonstrated it lacks the first requirement of strong government: the will to control its own behaviour."

**State 'Shies' Away From Multiracial Schools**—"As white schools fall empty in mixed inner-city suburbs, government shies away from simply opening the schools to the kids in the neighbourhood," observes a second editorial on the same page. "That would mean doing what governments are supposed to do and actually taking a decision. NP leader F.W. de Klerk promised not to duck decisions, but there is only progress of a sort in his statement that government might allow other races to use vacant white schools. He left his escape routes open by saying this mustn't cause problems and schools must be well situated. At least De Klerk realises the waste of leaving school buildings unused."

### SOWETAN

**No Praise for Vlok Retraction of Violence Statement**—The page 6 editorial in Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 7 August says: "While it might appear churlish not to praise Minister Adriaan Vlok for retracting the wild statements he made concerning the alleged violent campaign by the MDM, we cannot stress strongly enough the danger of such unchecked statements from members of Parliament." "The new-style sophistication from the police and security forces comes a bit late in the day when even those who are prepared to create a suitable climate for negotiations are suspicious of the

Government. It is about time that members of Parliament paid more attention to the type of statements they make, especially in such tension-filled days."

### CAPE TIMES

**No Black Liberation by Denying Free Speech**—"The shouting down of Zach de Beer and Van Zyl Slabbert at the University of the Witwatersrand was yet another affront to the democratic values of free speech," says a page 10 editorial in Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English on 2 August. The black students who prevented the meeting on the campus "will say quite rightly that not since the banning of the ANC and the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] in 1960 has there been freedom of speech for their leaders. Their point of view as a disfranchised and oppressed population group has been suppressed, they correctly point out. So they are using the relative freedom of a university campus to bring home their anger to the white electorate. By denying free speech to others!" "Black liberation will not be achieved by extending the denial of free speech more widely than ever."

### TRANSVALER

**CP Ideology 'Absurdity'**—A page 6 editorial in Johannesburg TRANSVALER in Afrikaans on 3 August comments on how the CP's "ideological fanaticism leads to absurdity." TRANSVALER refers to the Krugersdorp town council decision not to allow nonwhites to use its town halls. As a result of this the local police must seek another place to hold the police commissioner's farewell party. But perhaps "voters should thank Krugersdorp and its fellow CP town councils." They "open eyes" to "what can happen when healthy intelligence makes way for ideology."

### RAPPORT

**Giving De Klerk 'a Chance' Urged**—The page 30 editorial in Johannesburg RAPPORT in Afrikaans on 6 August says: "The MDM can be a shackle to the DP; there are signs that its top leadership do not agree on this amorphous political tiger for which there are no guarantees. But the DP can make a case for negotiation politics, for united politics within and outside parliament—just as the NP can and will invoke negotiation politics. But each will do so in his own manner." The NP leader emphasized this week the NP aim is: "a fair, constitutional, economic, and social system for all in the country, with the specified preconditions with which everyone is now familiar. One the whole, it is what most people want. The question remains: How does one achieve this?" RAPPORT agrees with WORD AND DEED, the Rebsa [expansion unknown] mouthpiece, that the "F.W. de Klerk path should be followed." "Give him a chance in this critical round. He and his political party can be weighed again in the next general election in 1995."

### Angola

#### Government Delegation Departs for Peace Talks *MB0708201589 Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese 1900 GMT 7 Aug 89*

[Text] An Angolan Government delegation left Luanda this afternoon for Kinshasa to participate in the third round of contacts with UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] elements, when there is a new development in the war theater in the country.

Lieutenant General Antonio dos Santos Franca Ndalu, FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] chief of general staff, is leading the Angolan Government delegation. Our country's delegation left for Kinshasa, within the framework of the commission established by the Gbadolite African summit, to study practical ways of integrating UNITA elements into the institutions of the People's Republic of Angola.

The Angolan delegation includes Colonel Andre Petroff, northern front chairman; Faustino Muteka, agriculture minister; Col Jose Maria, president of the Republic secretariat for defense and security affairs; and Antonio Pitra Neto, director of the party Central Committee for state and judicial organs, among other officials.

The second round of contacts between the Angolan Government and the UNITA elements had been suspended by the mediator, President Mobutu Sese Seko, on 29 July, following reservations on the part of UNITA. The last round centered on the search for effective mechanisms to control and verify the cease-fire, an indispensable condition for continuing to implement the Angolan Government's internal peace plan.

In this context, it is believed that this issue will once again dominate the third round of contacts, inasmuch as a definite position is expected on UNITA's part regarding the document presented by the mediator, a document that contains generalities that are, more or less, a framework for controlling and verifying the cease-fire. The mediator's document, as is well known, has been fully accepted by the Angolan Government.

Lt Gen Antonio dos Santos Franca Ndalu says it is necessary, first of all, to consolidate the cease-fire agreed upon in Gbadolite to end all forms of its violation, which continue to jeopardize what was agreed upon before the African heads of state. It will be recalled on the eve of the resumption of the proceedings of the reintegration commission in Kinshasa, under the mediation of Zaire, UNITA has right from the start been carrying out many offensive military actions to sabotage any contacts [words indistinct] where the end of armed violence is a fundamental condition for the reintegration process.

#### UNITA Notes 'Intensified' MPLA Air Raids *MB0808054589 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in English to Southern and Central Africa 0515 GMT 8 Aug 89*

[“Special communique” issued by the chief of the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola General Staff in Jamba on 7 August—read by announcer]

[Text] MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] military forces operating from Menongue have intensified air raids against the defenseless population and UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] positions.

Today, 7 August, eight MiG-23 jet fighters, flying in two formations of four each, bombed and machinegunned Mavinga post at 1236 and 1605 [1036 GMT and 1405 GMT] in total defiance of the cease-fire proclaimed on 24 June 1989.

These bombings destroyed the Mavinga regional hospital, killing six children, eight women, and five men. Eighteen people, including men, women, and children awaiting medical care in the hospital, were seriously wounded.

This barbaric act is a clear indication of how the MPLA is pursuing its intention to resolve the Angolan conflict by force of arms.

Our country free or death! United we shall win.

Jamba, bastion of the Angolan resistance, 7 August 1989  
[Signed] Chief of Staff General Demostenes Amos Chilungu

### Namibia

#### UN Halts Airlift of Returning Refugees *MB0708123589 Umtata Capital Radio in English 1200 GMT 7 Aug 89*

[Text] The United Nations is stopping its airlift of returning Namibian exiles.

Not all registered refugees have come back, but a UN spokesman says some may not return until after the elections in November.

United Nations officials today, after 8 weeks, ended a costly and troubled airlift of exiled Namibians from Angola and Zambia. The operation, run by the UNHCR [UN High Commission for Refugees] and costing about 90 million rands, has fallen short of its ambitious expectation. From the start, it was troubled by inefficiency on the part of chartered airline operators and choke points at refugee reception centers set up in Namibia.

A final count of exiles returning also shows the total is about 6,000 short of the 41,000 people that UN officials said had registered to return from Angola and Zambia. Millions of dollars are still being spent on food project run by the UN's World Food Program that proposes to feed returning exiles for up to a year.

### Zimbabwe

**Renewed 'State of Emergency' Draws Criticism**  
*MB0408185189 London BBC World Service in English  
1515 GMT 4 Aug 89*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] One legacy of the white regime in Zimbabwe that President Mugabe has not been anxious to get rid of so far is the state of emergency. Nine years after independence and it's still in force. But the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace is one organization that would like to see it scrapped. They have published a statement criticizing the emergency, which was renewed last month, and launching what looks like a minor campaign to persuade MP's to vote against it when it comes up for renewal again in January next year, on the grounds that the emergency is being abused. On the line to Harare, Peter Murray asked the director of the Commission for Peace and Justice, Nicholas Ndebele, what their statement said:

[Begin recording] [Ndebele] We are talking about the refusal by the police for people to see their lawyers while they are under arrest, and cases of detainees being reviewed months afterwards instead of within the 30 days. Once reviewed, these cases, the recommendations, if the recommendation has been released, is delayed before the review tribunal writes it down, and a further delay to comply with the recommendation.

[Murray] How widespread are these abuses?

[Ndebele] Of course, we don't have many people in detention at the moment, but the existence of the state of emergency is open to abuse, and therefore many people could be detained at any time. The fact that we have very few people in detention now does not really mean that we won't have them in the near future.

[Murray] Can you give me some examples of the kind of things that you are talking about?

[Ndebele] Very recently, when the lecturer of the university, Kempton Akabwe, was arrested and detained for about 6 days or so, he was not allowed access to his lawyers. We have, at the moment, detainees who have been recommended for release. The recommendation was given in November. It took about 4 months for the review tribunal to actually write down the recommendation, and it was eventually written sometime in March. And up to now, nothing has happened.

[Murray] You say that these are abuses of government power, but the government itself would usually argue that the state of emergency is necessary to combat the threat from South Africa, or else to combat the threat of guerrillas from the Mozambique National Resistance [MNR] coming across the border and raiding villages in Manicaland. How would you respond to that kind of thing from the government?

[Ndebele] We would say that at the moment there is no evidence that either South Africa wants to overthrow this government by force, or MNR want to overthrow this government by force. There is not that threat at all to our government and to our state. Of course, we have bandits along the eastern part of the country, but we believe that our police and our ordinary laws can combat that kind of situation. If it is a military situation, we believe that our Army can combat that kind of situation without the emergency powers. And even if one were to argue that the incidents there require a state of emergency, I would still say that there is no reason of having the state of emergency in Harare. You can have it there in the eastern border, and not in Harare.

[Murray] You, presumably, and the Catholic Commission, are going to circulate this report around MP's, and presumably to the Justice Ministry, and so on. What kind of reception do you expect the report will get from those people?

[Ndebele] Well, we have already sent it to the MP's and to the ministers. We don't know exactly how they will react, but my impression is that the last time we got a very positive reply from one of the MP's and deputy ministers, encouraging us, and we also got another response from another MP, who actually argued the case in Parliament against the one-party state. But of course, he was outvoted. So, I think we expect some people to be sympathetic to us, to agree with us, on the question of abolishing the state of emergency, whereas I think others will want to maintain it for political reasons, not for security reasons at all. But I think by and large there is a growing feeling within Zimbabwe that we do not need a state of emergency.

## Senegal

\* **Principles Concerning Border Dispute Spelled Out**  
*34190266a Dakar L'UNITE POUR LE SOCIALISME*  
in French Jun 89 p 1

[Editorial by Babacar Sine: "To Resist and Ensure Peace"]

[Text] The latest developments in the Senegalese-Mauritanian case puzzle many observers and disconcert the most experienced analysts, so incredible are Taya and his government's inconsistencies, duplicities and about-turns.

To our determination to work for peace and under the law, Taya opposes equivocations, lies and stalling tactics, when not plain aggressiveness. Nevertheless, we shall remain dispassionate, but uncompromising as to our principles and the defense of our position, which is quite clear:

1. We shall not compromise on the issue of our borders, as settled by international law and, materially, by the African consensus within the OAU, making the inviolability of the borders inherited from colonial times a non-negotiable principle.

This is a question of territorial sovereignty, not to say a question of sovereignty, period.

2. We must protect our traditional rights, i.e., fishing and agricultural rights.

3. We must protect the material and moral rights of our compatriots and all Mauritanian individuals of Senegalese origin, or Senegalese individuals of Mauritanian origin, as commanded by our basic attachment to human rights.

In spite of the breakdown of the Bamako negotiations, in spite of the recall of the Mauritanian ambassador, in spite of intimidation, in spite of the aggressive propaganda broadcast in high doses by the Mauritanian radio and Mauritanian diplomatic communiques, in short, in spite of all this noisy and irresponsible activism, we shall hold our ground, united behind President Abdou Diouf who, in this case, has shown real patriotism and statesmanship. By comparison, it is plain that the Mauritanian government's line of intervention has lead them to a dead end.

We shall not swallow their arrogant diktat. But we are willing to dialogue, as long as it is not a dialogue to liquidate our national interests.

It is a good thing that the Senegalese people have understood, assimilated our position, despite a few attempts made here and there to undermine the moral unity thus achieved on the occasion of these tragic events. And it is all to their credit that they thus transcended political, partisan and artificial divisions to

focus on the essential, the sacred defense of our national interests. In this respect, the dialogue started between our party and the PIT [Party for Independence and Labor] assumes its full meaning.

It is also a good thing that, in spite of this context of conflict and its political consequences, the summit meeting of French-speaking countries could take place with the success that we know.

To host that meeting and make it a success was in itself a challenge that Senegal, through its president, His Excellency Abdou Diouf, has just met. It was more than a challenge if we consider the political context in which it took place. It was the proof of the exemplary maturity and serene control over the situation now achieved by the government.

This is encouraging for the near future; as Senegal comes out of the ordeal inflicted by Mauritania with increased stature, as it also comes out of the summit of French-speaking countries which it organized with increased stature, it can now pull itself together and go on.

\* **Mauritania Approved Killings of Senegalese**  
*34190265a Dakar LE DEVOIR in French*  
1-15 Jun 89 pp 3, 8

[Article by Pathe Mbodje; first two paragraphs are LE DEVOIR introduction]

[Text] It started with a systematic census of all Senegalese, at least those in Nouakchott. The second step was the execution of the Senegalese—paid for at the rate of 25,000 CFA francs for each one killed. The circle was completed with an (as yet) undeclared breaking off of diplomatic relations.

Those are the manifestations, both visible and invisible, of the vast Mauritanian plot against Senegal.

The execution of some 200 Senegalese in Mauritania last April is now clearly seen to have been a patiently organized undertaking coordinated by the Mauritanian intelligence service and financed by the Bidan army rabble.

The current quarrels among the Haratin, who want to be paid, and their condemnations of the Bidan have revealed that the life of a Senegalese was worth 25,000 CFA francs—the amount promised to the Haratin executioners recruited in Mauritania and even in Senegal—and this is confirmed by the Mauritanian former guard at a vast agroindustrial complex in the north who is now in the hands of the Senegalese courts following his formal identification by a woman who escaped the Mauritanian hell and his own confession.

The first step in the vast plan to liquidate Senegalese was the general and systematic census of Senegalese—and only Senegalese—living in Mauritania, or at any rate in Nouakchott, according to documents to which LE DEVOIR has had access.

As far back as February and March, for example, round-ups beginning in Nouakchott at 1800 hours and aimed primarily at Senegalese made it possible to draw up a map showing the location of every house occupied by Senegalese and the number of its occupants.

Cards were prepared in quadruplicate by the General Directorate of National Security [DGSN] and the DST [expansion unknown]. The first copy went to Central Police Headquarters in Nouakchott, the second was filed at the DGSN, the third went to the police station in the neighborhood where the party involved lived, and the fourth, slightly altered, went to the individual himself.

#### Mistake or Intimidation

In the last-named case, the card listed only the name of its holder, the number on his (Senegalese) national identification card, the date when the card issued by the Mauritanian DST was prepared, and the owner's photograph, which was placed next to the seal of the DST Emigration and Immigration Department and which concealed—intentionally—the signature of the issuing official. In many cases, the census number shown on the card was in a different color of ink. The procedure was, mutatis mutandis, about the same as that used with the Jews under Hitler.

The cards placed in the files of the DGSN-DST and the local police stations were more detailed. They included the identification of the cardholder, his parentage, and his place of residence in Senegal and in Nouakchott. With that phase completed, it was easy, on 24 and 25 April, to locate the Senegalese geographically before they were summarily executed with no formal procedure other than the presentation of their Senegalese national identification card or their census card.

#### What else?

The hordes unleashed simultaneously in all of Nouakchott's neighborhoods had lists of the houses to be visited and cleaned out and were given a quite considerable degree of freedom.

One example: On 24 April, the home of the director of security—a black Mauritanian—was looted by the Haratin. When the director expressed his amazement to his minister, he was given this sublime answer, as reported to us by witnesses to the scene: "It was a mistake. You were not on the list" (Gabriel Cimper).

Was it a mistake, a case of exaction, a matter of intimidation, or all three? In any case, by making that statement, the minister of interior had just confirmed before

several witnesses—who were later expelled—the prior existence of a list that was used to carry out a pogrom of Senegalese in Mauritania on 24 and 25 April. And to justify the slaughter both before and after the event, use was made of Mauritanian National Radio, which on the morning of 24 April broadcast a communiqué that was to serve as the signal for unleashing the wild beasts who had already been promised 5,000 ouguiyas (25,000 CFA francs) for every Senegalese executed by the "Kabyle smile."

Since Mauritania has no public opinion that can react on its own to an alleged vendetta in Senegal, where—in the words of the communiqué—"Mauritanians had been executed and stripped of their property," the Bidan stirred up the Haratin excessively and supplied them with drugs, according to reports, to prepare them for the signal. And as though by extraordinary coincidence, the police officers responsible for public safety carried no weapons that day and discreetly looked the other way while a Senegalese was being attacked, knocked to the ground, and having his throat slit in front of them. Two hundred Senegalese—or 1,000, according to some who were expelled—were thus massacred in 2 days' time before a military column sent all the way from Atar intervened. Mauritania had achieved its objectives, which were to separate itself from its black Africans and distance itself from Senegal.

In Senegal itself, the reaction by the Mauritanian ambassador should have made national authorities suspicious: at the height of the crisis, the only solution to the conflict that he could think of was the repatriation of nationals to their respective countries. It was as though he knew that no further arrangement or compromise was possible following the despicable infamy committed in his country.

Incidentally, the Gabonese incident, which resulted in Bongo's ambassador to Taya being recalled to Libreville last 22 May, may also tend to prove that Nouakchott was trying at all costs to prevent any domestic or international publicity concerning its intention to make Mauritania a Bidan country.

Because the Gabonese diplomat had drawn attention in a note verbale dated 18 May to the racist character of the treatment of black Africans by Mauritanian authorities, Nouakchott asked Libreville to recall its honorable correspondent in order to avoid a conflict between the two countries. By asking his own ambassador to leave on the eve of the third summit meeting of countries sharing the use of the French language, Taya took the final step in the break Nouakchott was seeking in its relations with its southern neighbor.

\* **Rejection of Mauritanian 'Racism' Urged**  
*34190266b Dakar L'UNITE POUR  
 LESOCIALISME in French Jun 89 p 4*

[Article by Sana Sane: "Senegal-Mauritania: Vigilance!"]

[Text] The truth in Senegalese-Mauritanian relations is that it is also a question of the people. This is where the solution to the current crisis will be found.

However, two observations are in order. First, the fact that, in this case, we have one people rejecting another people, because of its color. The white moors of Mauritania (who claim to be Arabs although they are more closely related to our Toucouleur parents, and therefore to us, Negro Africans) are nourishing and turning into a tragedy a surprising contempt for the blacks of Mauritania and, therefore, for all sub-Saharan blacks.

Then, on the other side of the Senegal river, we have a people whose cultural influence is marked by humanism and consistent consideration for human rights and liberties. Thus, tribal racism and other values degrading to man are unknown there. The idea of a Nation, i.e., "a common will to live in common" remains the guiding principle of the Senegalese in the construction of their country and of Africa.

In view of these two (antagonistic) realities, one is tempted to conclude that, for the time being, the Mauritanians are responsible for making the divorce final. For humanism and racism are incompatible, and no compromise is possible between them; they reject each other.

#### The Taya-Cimper Pair

Long overlooked (in particular by African public opinion) racism and slavery in Mauritania have just been displayed for all the world to see by the brutal and shameful actions of the Taya-Cimper tandem—these two men who rule Mauritania today—illustrated by unprecedented barbarity against Negro Africans and their massive deportation. And this is the late 20th century!

Such rejection phenomena have always dragged nations and ethnic groups into fratricidal confrontations, the consequences of which remain forever engraved in their common history. Examples abound. The Senegalese-Mauritanian case is in no way different, as nothing will ever be the same in the relations between the two countries. Senegal has always condemned racism and all other practices that humiliate man.

Now, as Mauritania falls prey to obscurantism, black Africa as a whole is challenged. It is her dignity and her honor that are held up to ridicule in the midst of the Sahara Desert. In fact, Senegal must not be alone to fight the racism that flourishes on its borders. This concerns all justice- and peace-loving nations.

To begin with, the black African nations. And they must know that war is not the solution; determination and vigilance must be the golden rule.

#### \* France Defers, Not Defuses Border Dispute

34190265b Dakar *LE DEVOIR* in French  
1-15 Jun 89 p 2

[Article by Pathe Mbodje; first paragraph is *LE DEVOIR* introduction]

[Text] "Uncle Mitterrand" would be wrong to take satisfaction too soon in having saved the peace between Senegal and Mauritania. While he was able to use psychology in this case to extricate Ould Taya from his political and moral isolation and persuade Diouf to reaffirm his will for peace, the French president is forgetting that the dispute is first and foremost a matter of a people being frustrated in its desire to free itself morally and territorially, not a matter of states to be reconciled through dialogue and consultation. All the more since Dakar is laying down conditions that will be difficult to meet.

If Mauritania were so sure that Senegal would wage war against it that it felt it had to fire the first shot, the reason must be that it felt entirely responsible for the crisis. Responsible and isolated.

Being isolated from the north (Casablanca is no longer being so affirmative in its support, with the result that Taya had to show his bad humor by personally boycotting the special summit meeting of the Arab League that was called by Hassan II on the eve of the French-speaking summit meeting in Dakar—but don't take it the wrong way) and isolated from the south (after the pogrom and subsequent expulsion of black Africans, Taya could not possibly present himself before his peers), Mauritania played the game of scaring itself. It went so far as to imagine an imminent attack by a Senegal intent on avenging its fallen sons. As a preventive measure, Mauritania reportedly toyed with the idea of going to war first so as not to be attacked.

A war probably would have comforted Diouf, since he would then have been saved from a disastrous internal situation by the Senegalese-Mauritanian crisis, all the more since it would have given relief to Senegal's inhabitants, who feel frustrated by the first blow struck by Nouakchott and are crying for vengeance. The government felt this briefly, and it even skillfully permitted a few leaks concerning a possible declaration of war on Mauritania "if certain diplomatic assurances are lived up to."

A war would be compulsory on the Senegalese side if the "hawks" (Cimper and the Ba'thist group) won out over Taya, whom Dakar finds easier to handle. Lastly, that hypothetical war would be "inevitable" on the Senegalese side because it would make it possible to settle once and for all the border issue, which is going to remain as long as things are not cleared up. It was that border problem, incidentally, which wrecked the meeting in Bamako last 18 and 19 May, and on 26 May, at the closing conference of the third French-speaking summit

meeting in Dakar, Diouf was referring to nothing else when he said "...to solve the fundamental problems which are at the root of the crisis."

#### New Border

Diouf was thus making a veiled response not only to France, whose minister of foreign affairs had gone to Nouakchott the day before to meet with Ould Taya at his request, but especially to the unvarnished statement at the very start of the summit meeting on the 24th by "Uncle Mitterrand," who had warned Nouakchott and Dakar against any vague warlike impulses. Mitterrand's statement that "several of us may be tempted" (to confront each other) was in fact interpreted on the international scene as being a command to Senegal and Mauritania to engage in dialogue. Added to that were Senegal's assurances to the OAU [Organization of African Unity] that brought troops to a halt at the frontier.

So if the war has not taken place after all, at least for the moment, we no doubt have "Uncle Mitterrand" to thank. Does this mean that discussions should be based on Senegal's actually quite exaggerated points of view, which are aimed at pushing Mauritania back beyond the boundaries internationally recognized today, even though the decree dated 8 December, which is Dakar's anchor point, marked out a different boundary between the two countries?

All this is a way of saying that if the Senegalese feel cheated out of a war that would have relieved their feelings over the first blow struck by Mauritania—an affront for which they want revenge—and also cheated out of a war of territorial liberation, the risk of open conflict has been deferred only temporarily. The reason is that Dakar is rigid in its position: there must be a new boundary line. This was realized at the height of the crisis when Diouf granted an audience to Keba Mbaye, a judge on the International Court of Justice in The Hague, and when the scheduled meeting in Bamako on 17 and 18 May was called off.

All things considered, "Uncle Mitterrand" and France should not be too hasty in crowning over their victory. War between Senegal and Mauritania cannot be ruled out, and Senegal is making its preparations with that in mind. The conditions which it has set for itself—and to which a field officer drew attention during the evacuation operations—remain dependent upon what happens after the OIC [Organization of the Islamic Conference] meeting and upon certain diplomatic assurances.

Above all, Senegal is preparing for war in case the hawks prevail over Taya and in order to find a solution—even a belated one—to a situation which it knew full well would have to be confronted someday: the border issue. Unfortunately, Senegal's position could not be more

ambiguous, since it wants to reconsider an internationally recognized boundary line which, at the time of its accession to independence, it swore to international bodies that it would not question.

\* **OAU's 'Uselessness' in Mauritania Dispute Noted**  
*34190265c Dakar LE DEVOIR in French*  
1-15 Jun 89 pp 1, 3

[Editorial by Demba Ndiaye: "OAU out of the Game"]

[Text] What purpose does the OAU serve? All Africans have been asking themselves that question for the past 10 years or so. That community organization has not resolved a single conflict in the past 10 years.

From Chad to the Sahara by way of Sudan and now Senegal and Mauritania, the OAU has shown itself incapable of playing the role assigned to it: that of resolving conflicts that arise on the continent and promoting subregional integration. The reason is not so much a lack of willingness as it is the nitpicking management of a poisoned legacy.

The OAU's chairmanship may be noisy (Diouf), clumsy (D.S. Nguesso), or perfectly useless (Moussa Traore).

It would be pointless to reduce everything to the question of finances. For that matter, the readiness of the states to pay their dues late or even not to pay them at all shows how much respect African decisionmakers have for the OAU.

From that point of view, Malian Moussa Traore's term as chairman provides a perfect illustration of the uselessness of the continentwide organization.

To begin with, there was the confrontation between African students and their Chinese counterparts. Moussa Traore, probably having learned from experience, declared that conflict to be "a matter not for the OAU but for the states." He said so even though he was in Beijing at the time when African nationals were being illegally confined.

But he went himself one better with the conflict between Senegal and Mauritania: The very military Moussa Traore decided that the conflict in question amounted to dirty linen that should be washed within the family—ignoring the fact that as a result of those events, there was no longer a family.

To get everyone's attention, the "president of Africa" concocted a meeting behind closed doors at the ministerial level (ministers of interior), which led to nothing, as had been expected. After all, one cannot consider that recommendations (!) to stop the "war of the airwaves" and allow the circulation of property and persons (?) constitute a positive result. Ending the war of the airwaves actually means challenging the right to information. That is unacceptable.

For another thing, it is hard to see how the free circulation of property and persons is possible without the establishment on both sides (and particularly the Mauritanian side) of a climate of confidence. In advocating those two things, the OAU is reviving the tradition of botched dossiers and formulas that are far from credible. The current chairman of the OAU is in a favorable position, since it was on the OAU's recommendation that the problem between Mali and Burkina Faso over the Agacher gang was submitted to the International Court of Justice in The Hague. Why would the OAU not be a party to Senegal's proposal that an international commission of inquiry be set up? Otherwise, we will never know the truth about the Senegalese victims in Mauritania.

The proposal is valid at least for that reason, even though the matter is more difficult as far as the rest of it goes (boundary demarcation and the estimate of losses). Lastly, the OAU cannot support the policy of deporting inhabitants on the basis of the color of their skin or their supposed origin. In the absence of civilian and peaceful solutions, every kind of deterioration into warfare is possible.

\* PIT Head Explains, Defends Dialogue With PS  
34190266c Dakar WAL FADJRI in French  
2 Jun 89 pp 6-8

[Interview with Amath Dansokho, PIT [Party for Independence and Labor] leader, by Tidiane Kasse: "The 'Sopi' Is Not a Revolutionary Movement"; date, place not given]

[Text] Almost one month ago, the dialogue between the PIT and the PS [Socialist Party] was renewed; it seemed to be the prelude to a basic change in the political landscape. On the part of the PIT, this approach could not fail to surprise, although it followed a certain 'logic.' Amath Dansokho explains all this, dotting many i's: how he sees the PS, its relations with its allies from the "Sopi," Marxist unity, current top priorities, etc.

[WAL FADJRI] Was there a sequel to the meeting between a delegation of your political bureau and a delegation of the PS political bureau, early last month?

[Dansokho] There have been no contacts since our meeting of 9 May, and that is understandable. We asked a series of questions that require studies and a subsequent exchange of views. We must also consider the fact that the organization of the summit of French-speaking countries has claimed all the attention of the PS leaders. But contacts may well be resumed since we agreed to meet again as soon as possible.

[WAL FADJRI] You say that the crisis between Senegal and Mauritania was the catalyst for this meeting. Wasn't it rather the ideal pretext?

[Dansokho] It was not a pretext. Our diagnosis of the government's policy is still severe, and this is not something that we are making up. Already, at its 10th session, our Central Committee had reached the conclusion that we should aim to form a government of national union in order to overcome the disputes resulting from the elections, which hamper us all. We need a political solution to the crisis, and in all languages in the world that spells negotiation. What has happened since February 1988 shows that this must be our aim; otherwise, we are courting disaster. The country is divided vertically; if civil war is the solution, it will disintegrate.

[WAL FADJRI] Do you believe that the threat is that serious?

[Dansokho] We live in a society that is segmented; vertically as well as horizontally. And there are parameters over which we have no control whatsoever. If there is a conflict, what will the brotherhoods do? What will the ethnic groups actually do? How will outside forces behave?

We are faced with a political problem that must be solved, and we do not want to start an escalation that might force us one day to devote 80 percent of our budget to solve it. Look at what is going on in Ethiopia, in Angola, in Mozambique, in Nicaragua, in Afghanistan... They are negotiating, but we do not want to go through a tragedy before meeting again around a table. I would rather have a compromise between the Senegalese than a compromise imposed by a third power, whichever it may be, even with the approval of the Soviet Union. As people who have always fought for their national independence, we cannot accept this line of reasoning. That is why we say that we must find a solution before it is too late. We must find a government of national union with enough authority to prevent a civil war and put the country back to work.

The economic situation is such a disaster that we do not believe today that anyone has the miracle solution. It is a deep crisis related to international factors over which neither us nor anybody else has any control. It affects continent-states like Brazil, and all the more so, a 200,000-km<sup>2</sup> country with such limited, not to say nonexistent resources. Abdou Diouf is not responsible for the world crisis, and it would be pretentious for us to claim that we can solve it. What is going on in China and the Soviet Union demonstrates the complexity of today's economic problems.

We know that the ruling class bears obvious responsibilities for what has happened. For 30 years, the government has used artificial means to manufacture billionaires, and its management of the economy is one of the causes of our current problems. The banking system has failed, and we realize that the new policies achieved nothing except to destroy our already fragile industrial assets.

For instance, the rainy season is upon us and the government doesn't say anything. Now, if last year's rainfall was all right and the harvest was bad, it is not all the fault of the locusts. The truth is that there were no good seeds, not enough seeds and fertilizer. In 1970, we used up to 100,000 tons of fertilizers, compared with just a little over 19,000 tons in 1987-1988. Forecasts for 1988-1989 show some increase, but not so much by farmers as by national companies like SAED [Company for the Development and Utilization of the Senegal River Delta].

Poor management is obvious.

[WAL FADJRI] Do you believe that those in charge should be absolved from it, if there is a mutation within the PS and a new start toward a policy of national unity? In other words, should we make a clean sweep of the past?

[Dansokho] If that is what the government wants, there is no problem. At an individual level, there have been excesses that should be denounced, but on a historical scale, the destiny of Senegal does not lie behind us. Any good decisions that are made, we shall support. Whatever tensions may have existed in the past, I believe we should go forward.

[WAL FADJRI] Allies of the PS since 1975, you were then with the CNTS [National Confederation of Senegalese Workers], and today you are flirting with the PS. What is the logic of your political approach?

[Dansokho] Our approach is always based on a study of the facts, a political evaluation. Our concern has always been to regroup, and even some sectors of the government. Relations between the government and the opposition should not be viewed too absolutely. The question is: what type of problems are we facing; and at times we have not hesitated to go along with the PDS [Senegalese Democratic Party].

We have our ideology, and we did not deviate from it in our approach. This ideology teaches us precisely that we must not judge people based on what they say or what they think, but based on what they are and what they do. Therefore, there is nothing there to warrant an exclusion of the PS from our horizon, as long as the PS adopts a policy corresponding to our option.

[WAL FADJRI] "To judge people based on what they are and what they do..." How do you judge the PS?

[Dansokho] It is a formation for everybody. Obviously, the main levers are in the hands of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, but it is still a full-scale popular formation, and it has come a long way. Nearly all those who shout "Sopi" today, excepting those who are about 20 years old, have been in the PS at some time. They include forces from the left and forces from the right. Therefore,

they should not be all lumped together. For if they are all rotten, then that would be too bad for the country. There are certainly looters among them, but we believe they are a minority.

After the shock of 28 February 1988, the PS started a movement of reflection and reform. It seems to tend toward social-democracy, without breaking with the bourgeoisie, but taking into account certain forces that had remained marginal until now, on account of the latter. This would be an in-depth reform and, of course, it raises questions: will the PS leadership assume such a risk? Can they do it? Is it not too late?

[WAL FADJRI] Then, would it not be better to wait and see before starting a dialogue?

[Dansokho] But that is precisely opportunism! We know that the situation is far from clear, but we have a line of conduct to follow, a task to complete. No one has suffered as much as we have from the PS denunciations; but today we are here to find solutions to Senegal's problems. The situation is serious enough and the only question is "where are we going?" Since we are in favor of a political situation, we must assume responsibility for all its consequences. The processes we have started had already been adopted; the Senegalese-Mauritanian conflict just hastened it.

Some say that the PS was at the end of the road and that it is beginning to get better. But we should wonder. If the power slips out of PS hands, into whose hands will it fall? If that happens, are we sure to have the stability and peace without which we cannot work?

This sudden onslaught of barbarity against the Mauritanians has given us pause. I must say that when the Political Bureau met on 28 April, what was on the agenda was May Day. When we heard the noise and the explosion of tear-gas grenades, we went out and watched a horde of looters in action. We realized that something terrible must be happening, and we immediately decided to send a telegram to Diouf.

The most difficult is what we are doing. We became allies of the PDS at a time when it was not yet the large political force it is today, and we are members of the CNTS although we are fighting Madia.

[WAL FADJRI] In the communist world, the time has come for revision and heartbreak. From the Soviet Union to other East Bloc countries and China, the Marxist movement is revising many of its certainties. Is that the end of the "great adventure"? Is the PIT, too, going through its perestroika?

[Dansokho] In my opinion, these are growing pains. Reality has scoffed at certain ideological fictions, certain forms of organization. It has scoffed at dogmatism, which is essentially foreign to Marxism. Although this doctrine has made possible considerable conquests,

including the "Great October," and encouraged many emancipation movements, we must recognize on the other hand that communist parties, especially those that have gained power, have lacked wisdom in several respects, the lesser of which were not those concerning democracy, freedom of thought or even freedom of religion. The necessity to cast society into molds designed by doctrinarians is foreign to both Marx and Lenin. Reality, therefore, had its revenge.

Democracy is an irrepressible movement, and it is precisely this dimension that Marxism, when in power, is appropriating again. Obviously, this will cause weird phenomena. New economic mechanisms are asserting themselves, over which we have no control because we never gave them a thought before, but what is happening is a movement of regeneration of the Marxist thought.

[WAL FADJRI] Therefore, we are not witnessing the end of Marxism and the "demise of ideologies"?

[Dansokho] The demise of ideologies has been announced for a long time; and you still meet them, as hardy as ever, at every street corner. Quite simply, readjustments are occurring, as the world must find new foundations. Through the movement that is now emerging, Marxism can only get stronger, as it will get closer to reality, in a better position to operate. Democratic procedures are the only procedures that will last, and I believe that the dimension we are now integrating gives Marxism its full revolutionary charge.

[WAL FADJRI] Based on what you have observed in communist countries, is there something that has inspired your political approach?

[Dansokho] First, where there are civil wars, there are extraordinary tragedies. Look at Ethiopia. It must devote 80 percent of its budget to war. How can that benefit populations deprived of extraordinary resources? And why fight religion in Afghanistan, a Muslim country? Some of our comrades have made mistakes, and they are paying dearly for them.

Therefore, not all problems can be solved as we would like to. And in Senegal, where we are largely dependent on the outside for consumer goods and our balance of payments, our development, we cannot resolve to settle our contradictions in a way that would arouse the disapproval of the international community. And since we are involved in politics to serve the Senegalese people, not to satisfy the fantasies of some leader, our position is clear. In our history, we have not made serious political mistakes that would put us today in contradiction with ourselves in our positions. Our first task is to save Senegal. For without Senegal we can make no plan. Even capitalism will have no plan.

[WAL FADJRI] For some time, relations between Senegal and the URSS have been improving. Have you not received an injunction from "big brother" to flirt with the government?

[Dansokho] No injunction. As you know, an integral dimension of perestroika has to do with relations between communist parties and the idea of interfering in the latter's affairs is challenged. Therefore, if there is one thing that did not play a part in what happened, this is it. Besides, the PCUS [Communist Party of the Soviet Union] never had any relations with the PDS. Yet, we are allied with the PDS, and we have worked out that strategy alone.

[WAL FADJRI] These contacts have displeased your allies in the "Sopi"; didn't they give you an ultimatum and demand a clarification of your positions?

[Dansokho] No. There was no such thing, and we will not tolerate it from anybody. First, we are in an alliance in which all allies have full freedom of movement. We are distinct parties and cannot have the same approaches to all problems. The PDS and the LD [Democratic League] may say they would not do what we are doing, they have the right to say that. But we did not leave the "Sopi" for a new preferred orientation.

Quite modestly, we have assessed the limitations of our forces and (as I told Abdou Diouf) if we want to solve Senegal's problems, the ruling party must take the initiative toward other parties, as the latter won't. We did it, because we do not harbor any concern other than the good of Senegal. Things must be clear: you must say whether you are in favor of insurrection or in favor of a political solution; and political solution means negotiation, just that.

[WAL FADJRI] What if the "Sopi" movement were to call for a demonstration tomorrow; would the PIT go along?

[Dansokho] We shall always judge whether that meets the objectives of our struggle. But we are not in favor of agitation for the sake of agitation. As I already said, what concerns us is to find political solutions to the crisis. For, if we should come to power tomorrow and with the current problems, quite possibly those who are raising their voices against Abdou Diouf would turn against us, if we didn't have an immediate solution, for instance to the unemployment crisis.

As I told Maitre Wade, I am not interested in politics as a game. I am not in politics to satisfy personal ambitions either.

[WAL FADJRI] Isn't the new PIT approach detrimental to the much-talked-about Marxist unity?

[Dansokho] Marxist unity will take place, but on Marxist bases. They are the ones [Editor's note: the Ld/Mpt [Democratic League/Movement for the Labor Party]] who urge us, saying that we agree on everything. But agreement on everything is not to make speeches. It is agreement on tactics, on strategy, on the way of organizing and running the party. Now, on many current issues our views diverge widely.

We do not believe that "Sopi" is a revolutionary movement. It is a popular movement. The revolution does not occur because a revolutionary party plays a part in it. Rather, it means that the revolutionary classes are playing their part. What the avant-garde thinks matters less than what the masses think. Now, which of those who shout "Sopi" will attack imperialism or capitalism? If they do not dare state what they want, how can they expect to lead the masses toward positions the masses do not share? There is a basic question for you.

We are also facing a situation in which people refuse to meet with Abdou Diouf, but they sign a letter advocating a visit to Taya; they don't want to meet Abdou Diouf, but they can write to his ministers. This is verging on preposterousness.

[WAL FADJRI] Finally, what does the "Sopi" mean to you?

[Dansokho] For us, the "Sopi" is a movement in the interest of the Senegalese. To find solutions. What we are doing otherwise with the PS has no other goal. And when I go to negotiations, I go through the front door...

\* Prime Minister Justifies Increased Police Budget  
*34190648c Port Louis LE MAURICIEN  
in French 7 Jul 89 p 5*

[Article by Jean-Marc Poche: "Police Budget: Prime Minister Has Told Police Commissioner To Take Steps To Combat Sedition"; passages enclosed in slantlines published in English]

[Text] The police budget, which has gone up from 367.2 million rupees last year to 500 million this year, gave rise to controversy on Wednesday during a review by the budget committee. In responding to the reservations expressed by opposition Leader Prem Nababsing, the prime minister said the large increase has to do with the need to strengthen security and insure that /law and order/ are respected.

The issues of security and /law and order/ were also addressed in remarks by Mr Cassam Uteem, who said no one can put a price tag on security.

"We have recently read the disturbing news about the seizure of firearms at Plaines Wilhems," said the deputy leader of the opposition—to which the prime minister replied, "/There is a lot more than that./" Mr Uteem went on to say that "those firearms did not belong to the police, and that is a fact which makes people even more nervous." He noted that the prime minister himself has indicated there was a large arsenal of illegal weapons in the country. "This adds to concern that the social situation may be deteriorating."

Mr Uteem also drew the prime minister's attention to the seditious remarks made by certain politicians, demanding to know why such language is tolerated from some people but not from others. It might lead people to think that some citizens get special treatment.

Sir Anerood Jugnauth answered that there was "/a lot of substance/" in what Mr Uteem had said. "I myself am often shocked at reports I get. For reasons of security, however, I cannot reveal everything here in the chamber." The prime minister said that formal instructions have been given to the police commissioner to move against seditionaries, regardless of who they may be, and send the evidence compiled to the DDP [expansion unknown] as quickly as possible.

Mr Prem Nababsing, the leader of the opposition, earlier expressed his astonishment at the increase in the size of the police budget. He said that the 133-million-rupee increase would have been enough to augment the salaries of all civil service employees by 6 percent. He also said that 22 million rupees is earmarked for munitions, while only 6 million is being appropriated for school books. The police budget, he said, has tripled since 1982-1983. The prime minister, after alluding to /law and order/ and security, said that the price of munitions had increased significantly and that it was necessary to purchase equipment for the coast guard.

Mr Herve Duval was also questioned about the increase in the police budget. Other parliamentarians including Mr L. Baligadoo, Mr K. Ruhee, Mr Jeewah, Mr Subash Lallah and Miss Jocelyne Minerve raised various other points concerning the budget. The prime minister said steps are being taken to replace foreign pilots with Mauritians, and improvements for the police barracks are being studied. He also said steps have been taken to improve road safety.

**END OF**

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